Copyright

by

Caitlin Julia Rubin

2013

The Thesis Committee for Caitlin Julia Rubin
Certifies that this is the approved version of the following thesis:

Somewhere Between Here and There:

Sharon Hayes and Catherine Opie, Picturing Protest

APPROVED BY
SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:

Supervisor:

Cherise Smith

Ann Reynolds

Somewhere Between Here and There:

Sharon Hayes and Catherine Opie, Picturing Protest

by

Caitlin Julia Rubin, B.A.

Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2013

For my grandmother, Julia Ryan Leasure,

who has always encouraged me to add more "ands" and "buts."

Acknowledgements

For providing the space to first explore this topic and for her guidance during the many subsequent stages of this project, I would like to thank my advisor, Cherise Smith. Thank you also to Ann Reynolds for her close reading and detailed comments, and to the members of my thesis committee: Eddie Chambers, Nhi Lieu, and Nassos Papalexandrou.

Thank you to my family and to Matt—for making it impossible to write a thank you that sums up everything they mean to me, and all that they have given.

To my grandmother, to whom I dedicate this thesis, thank you for one hundred years (and counting!), and for being my friend for a fun twenty-five.

Abstract

Somewhere Between Here and There:

Sharon Hayes and Catherine Opie, Picturing Protest

Caitlin Julia Rubin, M.A.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2013

Supervisor: Cherise Smith

Both Sharon Hayes's *In the Near Future* (2005-2009) and Catherine Opie's photographs of assemblies and rallies (2007—) take protest as a topic of investigation. Hayes enacts solo protests in urban centers and documents her project's iterations; Opie attends organized marches and demonstrations and photographs the gathered crowds. Yet while both projects perform or picture protest in the present-day, neither is wholly of this moment. In her staged actions, Hayes holds the signs and slogans of earlier social movements, and both she and Opie create and consider the images they capture in relation to experiences and visual records which predate them. This thesis considers the ways in which expectations and desires for present and future moments are rooted in understandings of social or political pasts, investigating the work of Hayes and Opie alongside the events of Occupy Wall Street and the histories of the movements these artists reference: ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power), Queer Nation, and the

Memphis Sanitation Strike of 1968. Focusing on the role of the documentary image in the creation and remembrance of historical events, the paper looks at how the longing to reinhabit a pictured past becomes incorporated within a desire to feel historical, and how fantasies of the past and future are absorbed into the charged space of present. Concentrating first on this temporal rearrangement (referred to by Hayes as an "unspooling of history") and turning next to the reengagement and embodiment of symbolic imagery, this thesis explores how works by Hayes and Opie emphasize disappointment in the present scene while simultaneously endeavoring to establish alternative spaces of social and political possibility—both new sites and reimagined worlds of belonging.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Introduction

" . . . all of this work is about democracy. And what's really complicated for me, in relationship to American identity right now, is that I think democracy is failing in this country. And it's really bothering me. I'm not sure how we get it back."

— Catherine Opie[1]

Catherine Opie speaks frankly about her recent photographs of rallies, assemblies, and demonstrations. Though crowded with people, the scenes she pictures are not necessarily impassioned: marchers for peace converse on cell phones while carrying flags and constructed coffins, and most of these demonstrations are still and sedate rather than raucous and demanding. In one image, Tea Party supporters gather loosely beneath an oversized sculpture of a nurse and sailor locked in embrace—the kiss made famous by Alfred Eisenstaedt's black-and-white photograph for Life Magazine, *V-J Day in Times Square* (1945), reimagined here in San Diego in both color and monumental scale. (fig. 1). The sculpture dwarfs the focal point of this rally and its speaker projected on the adjacent screen, but the people present don't seem very interested, anyhow. They stand singly, apart from one another, guarding their personal space with crossed arms. They are distanced, rather than unified, and Opie explains her disappointment and concern with these pictured scenes by focusing on such apparent lack of shared, emotional

[1] Catherine Opie, in Helen Molesworth and Catherine Opie, "Catherine Opie in Conversation with Helen Molesworth," in *Catherine Opie: Empty and Full* (Ostfildern, Germany: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2011), 87.

engagement: "while I'm sure they are very passionate about it, I don't actually *see* their passion."[2]

A selection of these images was included in Opie's 2011 exhibition at the Institute of Contemporary Art/Boston, paired with works from her series *Twelve Miles to the Horizon* (2009)—photographs of sunrises and sunsets taken on Pacific waters. The exhibition was called *Empty and Full*, an ambiguous title that prompted viewers to determine the corresponding adjective for each series. Were the landscapes, devoid of figures, the empty images? Or were they actually richer and more resonant than the messy photographs of demonstrations, littered with American flags? I worked at the ICA at the time of Opie's exhibition and spent an extended period of time with her photographs. Circling the room and studying the faces pictured in these scenes of protest, looking closely at the way the demonstrators held their flags and signs, I often found myself wondering what these people felt as they stood within their squares of public space. Many of them looked tired—and somewhat bored.

When, weeks later, I walked into an exhibition of Sharon Hayes's *In the Near Future* (2005–2009), I found another series of photographs with protest pictured at a similarly sedate standstill. At the center of a darkened gallery at the Guggenheim Museum, 35-mm slide projectors cast images onto the surrounding walls from platforms of varying heights, showing Hayes—sign in hand or clutched across her chest—as the lone protestor in the midst of busy city blocks. Strangers pass around her. Some stop to stare, others to ask her about her demonstration, but Hayes is most frequently shown

[2] Opie, in Molesworth and Opie, "Catherine Opie," 87.

alone, firmly and quietly set apart from these crowds by her boldly incongruous signs. Many of the slogans Hayes uses are borrowed from earlier social movements, and she stages her demonstrations on sites marked by past protests, where she stands for hour-long increments. But rather than facilitating collective opposition, Hayes orchestrates her actions and her evocation of earlier, more vibrant moments so that photographs of her demonstrations seem to underscore the absence of any such public, political participation today. When she alone holds a sign proclaiming THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT MIGHT HAVE TO CALL IN THE NATIONAL GUARD TO PUT THIS REVOLT DOWN (a slogan of her own creation), the photographs of her protest spark confusion—what revolt?—and appear to dramatize the delusional optimism of her claim, if not its impossibility. (fig. 2).

Both Hayes and Opie create images that highlight the absence or disinterest of communities joined in public demonstration. Yet the deficiency of these scenes is not inherent, contained within the photograph's rectangular frame; it is imposed from beyond these bounds, shaped by a personal sense of disappointment that each artist projects onto the image she captures. For Sharon Hayes and Catherine Opie, this disappointment is at once fueled and accompanied by a longing for their own, prior experiences and for social movements now romanticized through memory as well as through images—photographed and filmed—that attest to the momentousness of these distanced events. It may have been the influence of these earlier, now emblematic representations of protest that first provoked my own yearning dissatisfaction with the pictures that Opie and Hayes

present. Where was the energy of those celebrated photographs, where groups raised their fists and opened their mouths to shout in unison?

I didn't pause to fully consider the roots of my own, nostalgic longing until that fall, when, on September 17th, Occupy Wall Street brought the act of protest and the spectacle of demonstration to the forefront of national news. For me and many others, the emergence of Occupy Wall Street punctured a pervasive sense of disappointment with the present, inserting sudden optimism, excitement, and the potential for collective change. Occupy encouraged hopeful conversation, and scholars, journalists, and friends began writing and talking about the Occupy movement as a means of reclaiming something lost, of recouping a social and political spirit that had long gone missing—as Opie says, getting "it back." My own project unfolds from this feeling of yearning to question how expectations and desires for the present political moment are rooted in an understanding of a political past, an inherited history which precedes and exceeds this moment through its monumental, iconic, and nostalgic representation—whether distilled in photographs of prior protests, or, in San Diego, the literal photograph-turned-monument of Eisenstaedt's kissing nurse and sailor. This thesis, then, focuses on Hayes's *In the Near Future* and Opie's photographs of public demonstrations, but it is largely influenced by the context in which I saw and thought about these projects. The following pages explore the emotions surrounding the Occupy movement and the conditions that inspired its emergence, as well as the movements referenced by these two artists: ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power), Queer Nation, and the Memphis Sanitation Strike of 1968.

My thoughts here take form in three sections that dwell on different aspects of visualizing and thinking about both the present and future as tied to romanticized and longed-for versions of history. The first chapter investigates the way that the sensation of time becomes elongated by the desire to feel historical—to tether the present to other, distant moments—and I explore how the *now* stretches to absorb the past and future into the charged space of present through a focus on the experience of time in Sharon Hayes's installation of *In the Near Future*. In the second chapter, I turn to the role of the photographic image in the creation and remembrance of historical events, examining the way that Opie and Hayes model their own photographs on the iconic images of past moments while not quite matching these scenes. Finally, the third section of this thesis joins and expands upon the previous two, exploring the way that the restructuring of time and reengagement with symbolic imagery work to create alternative spaces of social and political possibility.

As Opie and Hayes lean towards a future, they also look towards a past. At base, my thesis is about this duality, and the collapse of time that the works by these artists provoke. Fantasies of the past structure our relation to the present and inform our desires for the future. It is the sensation produced by this condition—the sensation of living in an expanded, extended time that reaches in multiple directions—that can enable the construction of new sites and reimagined worlds of belonging.

Chapter 1: Feeling historical

We are the future
We are going to win
— sign at Occupy Wall Street, Zuccotti Park

It is possible that Occupy Wall Street found its firmest footing in the emotions and imaginations of the people who encountered it: not only those who participated directly, but those who observed the movement from a distance. I never visited an Occupy camp, but the movement still claimed my daily attention, and I poured over its images at home. Studying photographs of the tarped encampments in the newspaper over breakfast, later clicking through the online slideshows that pictured the protesters (some seated with locked arms, others blinded or bleeding from confrontations with officers and campus police), the movement seemed to interrupt the progression of ordinary time as much as space. I was drawn to the excitement that surrounded the movement, energy that made Occupy feel momentous, even from afar. As it spread from New York's Zuccotti Park to squares and plazas across the nation, the hopes of optimistic supporters buoyed Occupy from an extraordinary event into something more—an emerging historical moment.

For proponents of the movement, the fall of 2011 seemed marked with renewed vitality, a spirit that constituted Occupy as an unfolding of history, history in the making. Organizers in Boston recruited reinforcements by asking, *Which side are you on, Boston?*

History wants to know. Come write your grandkid's favorite story.[3] The movement's general assemblies pulsated with potential, giving those present the feeling of being on the cusp of something great: something to build on, and something to write and read about later. The enthusiasm and hope at these gatherings bolstered their exceptional significance. As a visitor to Occupy Nashville explained, "We're not in ordinary time. This is movement time."[4]

What is movement time? A time when ordinary life, suspended, is inhabited by new rituals? A time when what before seemed impossible suddenly appears within reach? Inviting others to join their cause, organizers of Occupy Boston envisioned the future form of a story that they would play a part in making, giving it image through imagination alongside the audience to whom it would be told. This story, steeped with nostalgia prior to its enactment, is romanticized through alignment with the other, fabled narratives and illustrative pictures that constitute histories both personal and collective. Perhaps, then, we might view "movement time" as composed through alliance—not only of bodies, but of stories and images, as well. Movement time doesn't always move forward, but seems to echo something that came before it, carrying with it a glimmer of a near forgotten legacy, a renewal of something once lost.

More than a blip on the radar, Occupy came weighted with potential in part because of the way it evoked moments and movements that preceded it. Ariella Azoulay

---

[3] Stephen Squibb, "Scenes from Occupy Boston," in *Occupy! Scenes from Occupied America*, ed. Astra Taylor and Keith Gessen (Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2011), 173.
[4] Jeff Sharlet, "By the Mob's Early Light: The Ritual Significance of Occupy Wall Street," *Bookforum* 18, no. 4 (January 2012): 7.

described Occupy camps in New York and California as marked by "the forgotten language that citizens have begun to relearn—the language of bodies, of chanting in groups, of demands and complaints . . ."[5] The sense of reawakening and renewal that characterizes both this and other accounts conveys the desire to reach behind to effect change for the future; not to turn back time, but to bridge the divide that separates this moment from those past, to find affinity that might alter the timeline of expected history. Within the Occupy community comes the unforeseen chance to fight against history as it is given, Michael Taussig explains: "Decades drift away. Decades of gutting what was left of the social contract. Decades in which kids came to think being a banker was sexy. When that happens you know it's all over—or about to explode as once again history throws a curve ball. Once in a lifetime the unpredictable occurs and reality gets redefined."[6] For Taussig, the handmade quality of the protesters' cardboard signs worked to facilitate this "hop, skip, and jump" through history, evoking through aesthetic vibrancy a revival of an earlier time now pictured with nostalgic longing.[7]

Envisioning such short-circuiting time is a way of feeling historical in the present, a means of placing still-unfolding time within new narrative, drawing it into the company of moments that have passed and moments that have yet to appear.[8] Folding time's

---

[5] Ariella Azoulay, "A Civil State of Emergency," *Artforum* 50, no. 4 (December 2011): 233.
[6] Michael Taussig, "I'm so Angry I Made a Sign," *Critical Inquiry* 39, no. 1 (Autumn 2012): 61.
[7] Taussig, "I Made a Sign," 76.
[8] The phrase "feeling historical in the present" is borrowed from Lauren Berlant [see Lauren Berlant, "Thinking About Feeling Historical," in *Political Emotions: New Agendas in Communication* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 229–245.], but I use it here to think not only about the present moment as historical (as history unfolding), but as a way to explore thinking of the present moment as open to the company of moments that have passed before it: a broadening of the sense of the *now* within a communal timeline that brings separated moments closer together. Thus I build from the thoughts of Christopher Nealon as well,

straight course draws formerly separated spaces together in correspondence, pressing one against another. Like a paper fan clutched at its base, each crease is brought into line with the one before it and the fold following, tucked together newfound kinship. This gathering of moments, which causes the present to lean upon the past and the past upon the present, might be likened to what Sharon Hayes has described as a feeling of resonance, the sense of being caught, stuttering, between present and prior experiences. For Hayes, a moment in time is "never exclusively its own." She explains, "I mean this in two ways: first, in the sense that a moment in time is always informed by what comes before it, political movements are always informed by earlier ones . . . and then secondly, for me, attendant to this, is that I think therefore of time as projecting both forwards and backwards, and that any moment in time is doing that, is making these reaches in both directions."[9]

Hayes's *In the Near Future* (2005-2009) enacts and pictures the temporality she characterizes, aligning the time of the present with both past moments and moments that have yet to transpire. In the actions that compose her project, Hayes stands alone in city parks and streets, holding a lettered sign across her body or above her head. The phrases Hayes selects for her hour-long demonstrations are often elusive, obscure, or unwieldy. Some—like THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT MIGHT HAVE TO CALL IN THE NATIONAL GUARD TO PUT THIS REVOLT DOWN—were written by Hayes herself,

---

who writes about the desire to "feel historical" as a desire to "convert the harrowing privacy . . . into some more encompassing narrative of collective life." See: Christopher Nealon, *Foundlings: Lesbian and Gay Historical Emotion Before Stonewall* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2001).

[9] Sharon Hayes, "Keynote Lecture, The Creative Time Summit: Revolutions in Public Practice (2009)," in *Coming After: Queer Time, Arriving Too Late, and the Spectre of the Recent Past*, ed. John Davies (Toronto: The Power Plant, 2012), 62–63.

but the majority of these slogans cite past protests, and thus have specific, historic significance. VOTES FOR WOMEN; RATIFY THE E.R.A. NOW! Hayes's reuse of these phrases dislodges them from their original contexts, drawing remnants of the past into the present while simultaneously leaning forward, in the direction of the *near future* and the collective possibilities that her protest signs invite. Viewed against the backdrop of contemporary New York streets, the addition of these signs is jarring. Like the cardboard placards described by Michael Taussig, Hayes's posters seem to revive a distanced historical spirit within the space and time of the present, lending it new significance through her borrowed slogans.

How can we understand this desire to make the present historic, the desire to feel historical in the ongoing moment, to prematurely picture it as momentous? And how might we understand the sense of loss that is bound up in thinking of the present not only with anticipation for that moment's future (*Come write your grandkid's favorite story)*, but with a longing, backward glance at moments past? The sense of renewal and revival that structures the momentum of an affective historic present belies the feeling that this present is lacking, that it lost something along the way to becoming *here* and *now*. When Catherine Opie admits to Helen Molesworth "I think democracy is failing in this country . . . I'm not sure how we get it back," she implies that democracy was once a success—or, if not quite a success, certainly an improvement on its current state.[10] Hayes, explaining the feeling of resonating between two positions, past and present, identifies the years just after her move to New York as comprising her own kind of lingering,

[10] Opie, in Molesworth and Opie, "Catherine Opie," 87.

generational specificity. These years—1991 to 1995—filled with performances, concerts, screenings, and meetings, were defined by her involvement in ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power), Queer Nation, Lesbian Avengers, and other political groups and communities that emerged around and in response to the AIDS crisis.[11] Hayes says, "what I think marks me generationally is that in those first years I was in New York, which were deep into the AIDS crisis, before the protease inhibitors, it wasn't just my friends who were dying, it was the people I was just discovering, people I was just beginning to model myself after, people I longed to become."[12]

For both Hayes and Opie, the specter of a prior moment—principally, their involvement in queer communities prior to and just after the AIDS crisis—haunts their perception of the present. Like Hayes's *In the Near Future*, Catherine Opie's photographs investigate the present state of protest within the United States, and, though filled with crowds of people, these images relay a certain sense of emptiness, an absence that each artist articulates in terms of her own, nostalgic longing for something that she can no longer find or picture. The present, represented scene is folded against the projected image of one that has passed. Comparing Opie's photograph of a relatively tranquil rally from 2009 to the chaotic images of ACT UP's interventions from the late 80s and 1990s, Molesworth comments on the incredible—and seemingly no longer viable—civil

---

[11] ACT UP formed in New York in 1987 and quickly sparked the emergence of local chapters across the country, relying on raucous demonstrations of civil disobedience to draw public and government attention to the AIDS epidemic and fight for the increased availability and affordability of AIDS drugs. Queer Nation formed in New York in the spring of 1990 in response to tensions and splits within ACT UP and aspired to concentrate on challenges to sexual politics and identity more generally, broadening ACT UP's narrowed focus on issues of AIDS politics. Queer Nation aimed to fight homophobia and invisibility, and, like ACT UP, intervened in the staid political operations of this period.

[12] Hayes, "Keynote Lecture," 60-61.

disobedience of the earlier events. Molesworth's reading of these images is colored with nostalgia for her experience of the years in which the older photographs were created. "It was inspiring and it feels like it's no longer possible," she says. Opie similarly conflates image and emotion, agreeing: "Maybe that's what I'm disappointed in ultimately . . . the passion isn't there."[13] Holding the image of the present against representations of the past produces a keen awareness of time's passing that is not only pictured, but felt. Looking more closely at the histories of ACT UP and Queer Nation, this chapter examines how lost moments and their mourning alter our sensation of time when we feel historical today.

Missed moments

For Hayes, arriving in New York in 1991 was like entering at the mid-point of a still unfolding scene. She explains, "when you come into the middle of something, like a bike race for instance or a choreographed dance, whether you're a rider or a dancer or you've just come to watch, you have to jump in at that point and go forward or otherwise you can't keep up . . . you accept what is there as if it was always there."[14] Hayes distinguishes this experience—coming into the middle of something—from the experience of arriving after. But in voicing her feeling that those dying of AIDS were not only friends but people she was "just discovering" and "longed to become," Hayes

[13] Molesworth and Opie, "Catherine Opie," 88.
[14] Hayes, "Keynote Lecture," 61.

suggests that her contact with this moment was cut short, that she arrived in its middle but just missed inhabiting it, and that the moment ultimately slipped away too soon.

Hayes's early years in New York continue to define her. "In many small and big ways, I've come to recognize my generational position as produced by my experience of a specific place, in my case New York, at a specific moment in time, for me 1991-1995," Hayes says. "I am proposing, suggesting the obvious, but I found it profound nonetheless: that we become political, that we come artists in deep relation to precise locations and precise historical conditions. And that these singularities, these precisions linger with us, they are carried along in our bodies."[15] Simply put, the places and moments we experience define us. But it might also be said that we become political in deep relation to historical moments we just miss, moments that become absent within the time of our observation—moments we have seen pictured, but now can't quite retrieve.

Reminiscing about her time as an undergraduate at the San Francisco Art Institute during the first half of the 1980s, Catherine Opie describes her intense political involvement within the leftist political community in that city. "I was constantly taking to the streets. I was in every protest, and I have all those protests documented. I have images of the first march when Jesse Jackson gave a speech—all the gays and lesbians took to the streets to go down and support Jackson. And then AIDS happened, and that was the end of feeling a sense of wholeness within the community."[16] The spaces and moments that structure Catherine Opie's generational position differ from those that Hayes views

---

[15] Hayes, "Keynote Lecture," 62.
[16] Opie, in Andrea Bowers and Catherine Opie, *Between Artists* (New York: A.R.T. Press, 2008), 28.

as defining. Opie's involvement with the gay community of San Francisco began just before AIDS; Hayes became involved with the movement that emerged just after, in response to this crisis. Yet both artists look back to movements that no longer exist, communities that fell away and fractured. Even when speaking about the formation of the AIDS movement in San Francisco, Opie lingers to describe the resultant fissures that spread throughout the broader leftist community in that city. The same sense of loss lies beneath the question she poses when discussing the relative political apathy of the lesbian community today, the gravitation towards lesbian celebrities instead of activist issues—"Isn't it more important to look at what happened with Queer Nation and ACT UP?"[17]

In observing the way that the Occupy movement seemed to reopen possibilities that many no longer believed to exist, we can recognize that a sense of loss permeates the contemporary left community, and perhaps the nation, more broadly.[18] Wendy Brown writes: "we suffer with the sense of not only a lost movement but also a lost historical moment, not only a lost theoretical and empirical coherence but also a lost way of life and a lost course of pursuits."[19] The decline of gay activist groups like ACT UP and Queer Nation mirrors the trajectory that Brown and other scholars have outlined for the greater fate of progressive, unified politics within the contemporary United States; though

---

[17] Russell Ferguson, "I Have Represented This Country: An Interview with Catherine Opie (December 4, 2007)," in *Catherine Opie: American Photographer* (New York: Guggenheim Publications, 2008), 258.
[18] See, for example, Bernard E. Harcourt, who writes: "the Occupy movement has opened possibilities that many no longer believed existed. That is, at least, the palpable feeling one gets reading the texts emerging from the movement—the numerous, short, moving interventions . . . This palpable feeling pervades the personal accounts . . . A deep current of emancipation, of liberation, of renewed hope, and of political and spiritual reawakening runs through the stories." Bernard E. Harcourt, "Political Disobedience," *Critical Inquiry* 39, no. 1 (Autumn 2012): 52.
[19] Wendy Brown, "Resisting Left Melancholia," in *Loss*, ed. David Eng and David Kazanjian (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 460.

chapters of ACT UP continue to meet, the movement has ceased to be the direct-action AIDS movement it once was.

ACT UP's membership began to dwindle after 1992. Deborah Gould emotionally describes the last meeting of ACT UP's Chicago chapter, held in January 1995, in which the remaining members—fewer than 10—voted to close their P.O. box, voicemail, and bank account due to lack of use.[20] In the years immediately following its formation, however, ACT UP was known for its raucous public demonstrations, which demanded an increase in the availability and affordability of drugs to treat AIDS and drew public and government attention to the unfolding epidemic. In March 1987, two weeks after its New York founding, ACT UP shut down Wall Street with its first protest. As it grew in size, the group would successfully pressure the FDA to accelerate their drug-approval process and the drug company Burroughs Wellcome to drop the price of the antiretroviral drug AZT by twenty percent.[21] Some attribute the dissolution of ACT UP to the competing interests of smaller, divergent factions within the group, though Gould suggests that despair destroyed ACT UP: as friends and lovers continued to die from AIDS, faith in ACT UP's activist tactics began to falter. Gould suggests that, because ACT UP strove to combat despair—to act instead of mourn—the despair of its members became secrets

[20] Deborah B. Gould, *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP's Fight Against AIDS* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 267–268.
[21] For a comprehensive discussion of ACT UP's history and its accomplishments, see Gould, *Moving Politics*.

kept in shame, impossible to divulge. "In that context, despair emerged in a way that individualized and depoliticized the feeling," Gould explains.[22]

For Lisa Duggan, the decline of progressive-left activism in the United States is similarly linked to a shift towards its interiorization: specifically, the privatization of public politics under the influence of new-right rhetoric. Duggan suggests that this rhetoric—espousing a vision of morality, market discipline, and "law and order"—has become the basis for contemporary neoliberal politics and, in turn, adopted by progressive groups.[23] As a result, movements previously comprised of embodied publics (activist communities who performed politics en masse, and on city streets) have been funneled into and ultimately replaced by institutional organizations. Instead of radical action, these groups now cooperate under corporate decision-making models and focus on courtroom litigation, legislation, and electoral campaigns in order to achieve equality. Just as the Civil Rights and Black Power movements receded as the NAACP remained strong, gay civil rights groups—pressed for funds—followed national political culture to the right.

These new, neoliberal groups no longer represent broad-based movements. Duggan specifically critiques the Independent Gay Forum: rather than extending the radical practice of groups like Queer Nation and ACT UP, the organization acts as the legal and public relations front for an increasingly exclusive group of gay, moneyed

---

[22] Gould, *Moving Politics*, 436.
[23] Lisa Duggan, *The Twilight of Equality? Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2003), x.

elite.[24] Campaigns for gay marriage and military service have replaced the array of progressive political, cultural, and economic issues that once defined the movement, so that politics formerly of the public sphere are now waged over symbolically intimate space. Instead of contesting institutions of dominant heteronormativity or fighting for public, queer visibility, contemporary gay politics now upholds and aspires to attain conventional standards that confine queer culture to private, normalized domesticity. The sphere of gay politics has shrunk. As Duggan writes, "There is no vision of a collective, democratic public culture, or of an ongoing engagement with contentious cantankerous queer politics. Instead we have been administered a kind of political sedative—we get marriage and the military, then we go home and cook dinner, forever."[25]

The corporatization of social movements described by Duggan has been accompanied by a shift towards politics narrowed to a more personal level; intimate and individual forms of citizenship have supplanted more collective public culture. When Catherine Opie stresses the importance of understanding what happened to Queer Nation and ACT UP, she alludes to this trend, asking: "Well, why is Ellen coming out the biggest, most important thing that's happened, supposedly, for the queer community?"[26] Opie highlights what she sees as a growing complacency: rather than fighting for broad, progressive change, the queer community has latched onto the symbolic struggle and success of an individual, the lesbian talk show host Ellen DeGeneres. For others, DeGeneres's celebrity illustrates the assimilation and transformation of previously radical

[24] Duggan, *Twilight of Equality*, 65.
[25] Duggan, *Twilight of Equality,* 62.
[26] Opie, quoted in Ferguson, "This Country," 258.

politics into safer and more acceptable forms, as Magic Johnson's example of "living with HIV" similarly signified a normalization of the disease within the broader public sphere.[27] Though the popularity and acceptance of both DeGeneres and Johnson appeared to give marginalized communities (gays and lesbians, or HIV-positive individuals) a degree of the recognition and respect they had fought for, the personal fame of these celebrities effected only symbolic change while detracting from more driven political efforts.[28]

When Johnson announced that he had tested HIV-positive in November 1991, the basketball star became a spokesman and face for the virus that groups like ACT UP had struggled for years to make visible. Activists had long fought to make the public realize that AIDS was not just a "gay problem"—it was everybody's problem. But Johnson's defensive heterosexuality and deliberate distancing from queer culture and gay, HIV-positive individuals—as he insisted, "I'm far from being homosexual"—ensured that the visibility he lent only perpetuated the homophobic construction of AIDS discourse that alienated gay men and vilified gay sexual culture.[29] Charles Stewart, a contributing editor of *BLK* (a magazine written for a black, queer audience) recognized the harm that Magic

---

[27] See Douglas Crimp, "Right On, Girlfriend!," in *Melancholia and Moralism: Essays on AIDS and Queer Politics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 175.

[28] This might also be likened to what Lauren Berlant terms "Diva Citizenship," when the testimony and public struggle of one person becomes symbolic of a broader fight for social or political change. This change is rarely sustained. Diva Citizenship "tends to emerge in moments of such extraordinary political paralysis that acts of language can feel like explosives that shake the ground of collective existence. Yet in remaking the scene of public life into a spectacle of subjectivity, it can lead to a confusion of willful and memorable rhetorical performance with sustained social change itself." See Lauren Berlant, *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 1997), 223.

[29] Douglas Crimp, "Accommodating Magic," in *Melancholia and Moralism: Essays on AIDS and Queer Politics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 214.

Johnson's role as spokesman might inflict—that he might "destigmatize AIDS at the cost of restigmatizing black gay men."[30] Writing in the *New Republic*, Stewart explained: "One of the largest and most invisible groups affected by the AIDS epidemic, black gay and bisexual men, just became even more invisible."[31] The narrowed understanding of HIV and AIDS that Johnson promoted mirrors the limitations of the political sphere in which he acted. Encountered through televised news conferences, interviews, and articles in *Sports Weekly*, the persona and politics of Magic Johnson could be consumed privately and anonymously at home, rather than performed with others on raucous, messy streets and public squares.

In March 1997, ACT UP/NY returned to Wall Street to mark the ten-year anniversary of its inaugural protest. Reflecting on the event of returning to this site, an action suggesting both a continuation of the movement and its relegation to history, Ann Cvetkovich asks: "When is it important to move on and when is it useful, if painful, to return to the past? I ask these questions about ACT UP in particular because in the process whereby AIDS activism was the catalyst for what has now become mainstream gay politics and consumer visibility, something got lost along the way, and I'm mourning that loss along with the loss of so many lives."[32] Cvetkovich gives voice to a feeling that resembles what many others—Opie, Hayes, and even I—have sensed: what was once inspiring no longer seems attainable. Moments lost to time carry with them the spirit that

---

[30] Charles Stewart, quoted in Crimp, "Accomodating Magic," 213.
[31] Stewart, quoted in Crimp, "Accomodating Magic," 213.
[32] Ann Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 156.

made these moments possible, so that the thread that ties the present to this past potential appears to have similarly slipped through our grasp.

Slow time

While Sharon Hayes's staged protests compose the heart of *In the Near Future*, the life of each action extends through photographs of their performance. In gallery or museum installations, images from *In the Near Future* are shown in the form of 35-mm slides, cast onto the surrounding walls by the cluster of projectors positioned outward from the room's center. (fig. 3). The steady whir of machinery is punctuated by rhythmic clicks as slides advance and fall into place. In the project's 2011 exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum in New York, thirteen projectors presented thirteen public actions through an accumulated 1,053 slides. Each action is shown in variety, illuminated images suspended one after the other at an even tempo.

The progression seems to mark the passing of time in rhythmic clicks, highlighting an attention to temporality that Catherine Opie has recognized in her own use of photography. Opie explains: "I think a lot of my work is about loss. That's something I'm realizing more and more as I travel, and collect images . . . So much of my obsession with being a documentarian comes from this deep-seated sense of the loss of time, and of how things shift so quickly."[33] If Opie's photographs work to record moments in time and time's progression (capturing the march for Jesse Jackson and the

[33] Opie, quoted in Russell Ferguson, "How I Think, Part II: An Interview with Catherine Opie (May 2000)," in *Catherine Opie: American Photographer* (New York: Guggenheim Publications, 2008), 142.

first candlelight vigil for AIDS in the 1980s and, from 2006 to 2010, scenes from Tea Party rallies, immigration marches, and Obama's inauguration) so does Hayes's *In the Near Future* measure the passing minutes with the successive advance of new slides. Each slide dropping into place produces a heavy click that seems to register not only audibly, but physically. The closing shutters produce momentary interludes of black where images once hung, so that, in the walled confines of *In the Near Future*'s exhibition, time seems almost tangible—you can hear it, feel it, see it pass. Yet the projectors play their steady rhythm of give and take at different intervals, out of sync with one another. Progressing through their loaded carousels at different points in time, the thirteen projectors produce a set of images that flicker like the flashing glitz of a neon sign. At the Guggenheim, it was difficult to see each slide at the moment that it switched; only by standing at the gallery's entrance could all thirteen machines be contained within the same view.

In the staggered staccato of multiple projectors, *In the Near Future* presents images that, strung together, plot the progression of multiple, abutting timelines. Different events unfold beside one another. We can see Hayes protesting near Wall Street, the sign RATIFY THE E.R.A. NOW! held overhead, but also her action at Columbus Circle, where she stands beneath a question handwritten on white poster board: WHO APPROVED THE WAR IN—VIETNAM? In the gallery of Hayes's installation, viewers are immersed in a collage of images that introduce details of these different events—their sites and slogans, as well as the time in which they were performed—within the same space, and moment.

The layered experience of *In the Near Future's* installation extends from Hayes's actions; in each projected image, Hayes's sign, body, and the place of her protest are citations borrowed from different points in time and newly recombined. For example, in photographs from November 8, 2005, Hayes holds the sign I AM A MAN, its text spelled out in capital letters. This phrase is a citation from the 1968 Memphis Sanitation Strike, and Hayes stands on the steps of St. Patrick's Cathedral, the site of ACT UP's Stop the Church demonstration in 1989. Flanking her figure with icons made and charged by the actions and images of past protests, Hayes extends the space of her present to incorporate the earlier moments to which these weighted words and symbolic site refer. Tethering her own figure to distanced dates and social movements, Hayes stretches the sphere in which she stands.

Yet the true expanse of time and space that separates the moments Hayes evokes—the gulf dividing 1960s Memphis from New York in 1992, or in 2005—is further manipulated in the photographs of her actions, which laminate these moments to one another within the same rectangular frame. Delivered through the anachronistic vessel of the slide projector, the dates for these images grow increasingly obscure; as Hayes explains, the slides don't look like they belong to the present decade.[34] The effect would be different had Hayes elected to print and frame her images. Presented as illuminated slides rather than as glossy photographs, the images acquire a different character; the colors are not as concentrated, the lines not quite so crisp. The corners of

[34] Hayes, in "One Question: Sharon Hayes," Vimeo video, 4:51, discussion with Hayes about *In the Near Future* on the occasion of her exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum, New York, posted by "CAG," May 19, 2011, http://vimeo.com/23971715.

some of the projected images are rounded in a style reminiscent of older photographs, similar to the pictures I have found pasted into albums and stuck between the pages of well-worn books when visiting my grandmother. Despite the clues they contain of their recent capture—modern clothes, contemporary storefronts—Hayes's images are cast with a light that seems to deliver them, prematurely, as nostalgic. They seem themselves to be creations of a prior era.

In her essay "Turn the Beat Around," Elizabeth Freeman identifies a kind of temporality—slow time—which she views as a respite and a means of circumventing the quick, mechanized pace of modern life.[35] Emotional feeling—romance, empathy and affection, and mourning—instill experience with different rhythm; within this affective realm, temporality is freed from the prescribed segmentation of clocked time. Freeman draws upon the ideas of Dana Luciano as she establishes this relationship, presenting and building upon Luciano's assessment that "in the wake of industrialization in the United States, mourning was newly reconceptualized as an experience outside of ordinary time, as eternal, recurrent, even sacred."[36] The experience of mourning is central to Freeman's concept of emotional temporality, and it is also of particular importance to the longing nostalgia that I have traced throughout the preceding pages, voiced and visualized in different ways by Cvetkovich, Molesworth, Opie, Hayes, and others. "Freud tells us that mourning is the reaction not only to the death of a loved person, but also 'to the loss of some abstraction which has taken the place of one, such as fatherland, liberty, an ideal,'"

---

[35] Douglas Crimp, "Mourning and Militancy," *October* 51 (Winter 1989): 3–18.
[36] Freeman, "Turn the Beat Around," 33.

Douglas Crimp explains.[37] When Catherine Opie discusses her photographs of recent assemblies with Helen Molesworth, comparing these images to earlier photographs of raucous ACT UP rallies, she and Molesworth articulate their disappointment by turning to what Opie's photographs visually lack, but also to what they both long for, something that can never quite be pictured—the inspiring, deep belief in civil disobedience that fueled earlier activists, an attitude which seems to have since disappeared. The concept is symbolically envisioned: perceived as absent from the image of the present while, with nostalgic romanticism, projected on pictures of the past until ideal and image seem inseparably fused.

The characterization of mourning's temporality as "eternal, recurrent, [and] sacred" resembles Jeff Sharlet's definition of the phrase he encountered at Occupy Nashville—"movement time." Clarifying the words of the visitor he cites, Sharlet writes:

> What she meant was a sort of slow motion, sped up, outside the flow of minutes and days, the temporal experience suggested by the Christian theological term *kairos*, ritual time, a moment that is unique and suffused with moments past. Holidays are a kind of *kairos*. This Christmas will be December 25, 2011, but for celebrants it will also be all the Christmases past, and all the Christmases of the future, anticipated, imagined.[38]

In movement time, time doesn't operate according to the usual rules. Time can be slow time, or time can be fast time. Sharlet and Freeman suggest that feeling deeply—and feeling historical—creates a space of emotional longing in which present time becomes interwoven with moments both experienced and imagined, glimpsed and envisioned. Rather than progressing in a straight, forward path, movement time travels in unexpected

---

[37] Douglas Crimp, "Mourning and Militancy," 11.
[38] Sharlet, "By the Mob's Early Light," 7.

directions: it loops, repeats, and lingers in traces. The enduring presence of the past impacts the present; as Kathryn Bond Stockton describes, the past becomes a way to widen the present, extending its span sideways and backwards.[39]

The title of Hayes's project—*In the Near Future*—leans towards the anticipated moment of a future event. Yet the arrival of that moment is persistently deferred: "in the near future" is close, yet, disappointingly, it remains consistently beyond reach. The emphasis on the proximity of this moment weights the present with possibility, seemingly extending it to contain everything leading up to the thin barrier dividing the future from the now, the barely discernable yet always unattainable line on the horizon. Time passes within the space of the gallery, but the events that Hayes enacts never reach their conclusion. Slides continue to drop into place, but while the projected images change, they still depict the same events. Each slide shows the same scene as the slide it follows and the slide it comes before; reaching the end of this run, the projectors repeat, looping back to the beginning of their stacked carousels. In *In the Near Future*, the event is never finished, but lingers, reanimated with light and suspended against the wall of the gallery and within the time of this space. The chorus of thirteen projectors causes time to hang thick in Hayes's installation. The images of *In the Near Future* are densely packed with accumulated slivers of time; illuminated, they press against the surrounding walls, filling this space and pushing it outward, stretching the experienced time of the gallery to

---

[39] Kathryn Bond Stockton, *The Queer Child, or Growing Sideways in the Twentieth Century* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2009), 13. See also Christopher Castiglia and Christopher Reed's discussion of Stockton: Christopher Castiglia and Christopher Reed, *If Memory Serves: Gay Men, AIDS, and the Promise of the Queer Past* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 12–13.

encompass their breadth. Here, the sensation of time is confused. As Jeff Sharlet describes his experience at Occupy Wall Street: "What time it was, I couldn't tell you."[40]

A sign from Occupy Wall Street reads: *We are the future / We are going to win*.[41] These two lines operate with a certain formula, repeating the declarative "we are" like a list of defining, defiant characteristics. But while *We are going to win* predicts an act set firmly in the future (however near it is imagined to be), *We are the future* brings the future to the present. The play of tenses is structurally similar to what John Berger identifies in the phrase "I am." In *About Looking*, Berger writes:

> The present tense of the verb *to be* refers only to the present: but nevertheless with the first person singular in front of it, it absorbs the past which is inseparable from it. "I am" includes all that has made me so. It is more than a statement of immediate fact: it is already biographical.[42]

Like "I am," *We are the future* absorbs a temporality not strictly of the present moment. The phrase is not *We* will be *the future*, but *We* are *the future*, *This* is *the future*. In movement time—in slow time, fast time, time with a flow of its own—the sense of time is stretched, fattened with the time that is not strictly of the *now*. In movement time, time can be the future, and it can also be the past.

The sign at Occupy Wall street brings to mind another sign, three lines pictured in a photograph that Julia Bryan-Wilson once shared with Sharon Hayes.[43] (fig. 4). The photograph was taken at a gay rights parade from 1977; in it, a group of men stand in the

---

[40] Sharlet, "By the Mob's Early Light," 8.
[41] Michael Taussig writes about seeing this sign in New York's Zuccotti Park during the fall of 2011. See Taussig, "I Made a Sign," 67.
[42] John Berger, *About Looking* (1980; repr., New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 50-51.
[43] See Julia Bryan-Wilson, "We Have a Future: An Interview with Sharon Hayes," *Grey Room* no. 37 (Fall 2009): 78–93.

bed of a festooned pick-up truck. They all look up, out, beyond the frame, likely smiling at supporters hanging from windows or perched on scaffolding above their heads. One man raises his hat, greeting something or someone that through this action we can sense, but cannot see. The banner affixed along the pickup's length dominates the lower third of the photograph's frame. One line atop the other, it reads: WE WERE HERE, WE ARE HERE, WE HAVE A FUTURE. Thinking and feeling historically brings these moments together, widening the possibilities of the present through the longed-for promise of a past, making the space of the present big enough so that—someday—it might accommodate the scenes that we hope will appear.

Chapter 2: Picturing history

A photograph from 2007 depicts a march on the streets of Los Angeles. The demonstrators, mostly women, hold printed signs advocating peace and—in bold, neon-backed lettering—the withdrawal of troops from Iraq. (fig. 5). Near the front and center of the image, two marchers bear identical reproductions of a poster drawn in a child-like scrawl; between them, they hoist the boxy form of a flag-draped coffin. Two young girls walk in single file underneath, seemingly taking advantage of the coffin's shadow, a rectangular shield from the sun.

The demonstrators march directly towards us, or towards Catherine Opie, who took the photograph. Captured as Opie stood to the right of the street's dividing center line, the image presents the marchers as a solid front, the striped ends of their shouldered coffins marking the top of a horizontal band that stretches just beyond the camera's frame in either direction. At the far right of this group, a woman hoists a coffin with her left arm; in her right, she holds the support for the flag slung over that shoulder. She is mid-stride, and also mid-bubble: the pink skin of chewing gum stretches across her tongue as she prepares to exhale. Her nonchalance ruptures the gravitas of her protest, making the action of parading a coffin down the street seem more of a routine chore than an impassioned seizure of public space and attention. Here, the effect is intentional, specifically captured and highlighted by Opie, who comments to Andrea Bowers: "In

these peace-march photographs, people are not protesting. Yes, they're carrying coffins. But as they're carrying coffins, they're talking on cell phones."[44]

The image of protest that Opie presents does not resemble the impassioned rallies of the 60s or 70s or the volatile street performances of ACT UP—or rather, it does not resemble these events as they are romanticized in the photographs through which we selectively remember them. Opie chooses to frame a scene in which the determination of the Los Angeles peace demonstrators is ambiguous, and largely unconvincing. To the left of the frame, a demonstrator in the front ranks has lowered her head as well as her sign, which, upside down, proclaims, PEACE IS POSSIBLE! It is difficult to attribute the same optimism to the woman who has overturned these words—does she believe them to be true? Looking at this photograph, Opie similarly questions the protestors' reasons for marching. "Is it out of sentimentality and nostalgia that people are taking to the streets? Or is it out of truly thinking that they can create change in American culture?"[45]

Both Opie's commentary and the image she creates reveal her doubts about the type of change that can be effected through protests like this one, a skepticism that extends to and shapes her own practice. "What happens to me as I get older?" she asks, contrasting the optimism of earlier portraits that she believed might alter attitudes about homosexuality—images like *Self Portrait/Cutting* (1993) and *Self-Portrait/Pervert* (1994)—to the pessimism of her current outlook. "How do I make a political body of

[44] Opie, in Bowers and Opie, *Between Artists*, 48.
[45] Opie, in Bowers and Opie, *Between Artists*, 48.

work, when I don't actually feel like I can create change with art?"[46] Opie is hesitant to place much faith in the possibility of physically enacting social change, and she describes her drive to photograph recent demonstrations, assemblies, and rallies across the United States as a compromise to which she has become resigned. In her conversation with Bowers, Opie contends:

> You can take to the streets, you can show it; you can talk about it; you can try to create work around it, but, at the same time, and at this point, you don't have the same kind of idealism that you had in your youth. You know that by creating work like this, it actually isn't going to do anything except document a moment. And perhaps that in itself is okay for me now.[47]

Opie describes a personal sense of lost agency, but only acknowledges her own position at the close of these lines, relying on the more general and rhetorically inclusive "you" as she charts what she herself perceives. Similarly, Opie directs viewers to share in her disappointment by photographing scenes of protest that mirror the despondency she feels.

The photograph has the power to define and direct future interpretations of the event it depicts, and it extends the life and impact of this moment. Perhaps this is what Sharon Hayes alludes to in the inaugural action of *In the Near Future*, staged in New York City's Union Square on November 1st, 2005. (fig. 6). The printed phrase Hayes held across her chest reads ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS but, as the action continues to be primarily encountered through photographs of it, we might amend its implication: it is *photographed* actions that speak louder than words. When Catherine Opie bemoans the divided attentions of protestors who cradle cell phones while carrying

---

[46] Opie, quoted in Ferguson, "This Country," 259.
[47] Opie, in Bowers and Opie, *Between Artists*, 52–53.

coffins above their heads, Andrea Bowers replies, "Well, they've got to see if they're on TV, Cathy. They're calling home to see if they're on TV."[48] A certain truth lies beneath Bowers's cynical jest. What meaning does an event have without an image? Events are created, understood, and remembered through both their textual and visual representation. Sharon Hayes explains that much of her practice is a means of working through the relationship between actions and their documentation, "as no event can even be perceived without the set of documents that are produced alongside or as the event itself."[49]

The act of photographing an event has the potential to turn the transitory action into an enduring monument for future generations, and the photographic image plays a large role in our understanding of both history and our present moment. Despite the pervasive perception that the public life of protest has declined over recent decades, activism remains strong in the United States. Looking at recent studies of social movements, Bernard Harcourt suggests that activism is actually greater than it was in the 1960s and 70s. Nearly two-thirds of Americans have participated in a social movement or protest, and that percentage appears to be growing.[50] The loss of confidence in American democracy and political action, then, might be more directly related to what we do or do not see, or rather—what is or is not pictured and represented by the media. As Nato Thompson explains:

> The shadow of 1968 looms large . . . Images of street protests with musicians and artists working collectively to overthrow the status quo pour out of magazines, books, videos, documentaries, and theoretic texts. This vast visual history

---

[48] Bowers, in Bowers and Opie, *Between Artists*, 48.
[49] Hayes, in Andrea Geyer and Sharon Hayes, *History Is Ours* (Heidelberg: Kehrer Verlag, 2009), 41.
[50] Harcourt, "Political Disobedience," 51.

> dominates the imagination of social change and the practices of many artists. When we scan the country for signs of resistance, I sometimes mistakenly search for the precise echoes of what was occurring in the '60s. We wonder, where are the large-scale protests, the songs of resistance?[51]

It is in large part through their visual representation that past social movements continue to maintain such hold on the American imagination. The images we encounter, treasure, and embellish through remembrance form the framework within which present-day aspirations are constructed. The following pages explore the visual and symbolic basis for memory—how emblematic image and metaphor have been woven into memories, expectations, and fantasies of life in the United States. Opie's deliberate contrast with these models serves to dramatize the gulf she feels divides present reality from the image and ideals of the past. Yet the drive to locate and to replicate the likeness of past representations in the present is an attempt to make these inherited memories actual.

I AM A MAN

In a photograph from November 8, 2005, Hayes grips the white stick that supports her rectangular placard, her fist resting just below its lower edge. Four words are spelled out against the poster's white backdrop in large, black letters: I AM A MAN. (fig. 7). The first two words are slightly thicker the last, and the AM is underscored with emphasis. A ring of onlookers surrounds Hayes, compelled to stare not only at the curiosity of her declaration, but at the spectacle of her confrontation: two police officers stand between Hayes and the camera, their backs to the lens. Hayes's face is framed by the stark white

[51] Nato Thompson, "Exhausted? It Might Be Democracy in America," in *A Guide to Democracy in America*, ed. Nato Thompson and Anne Pasternak (New York: Creative Time, 2008), 18–19.

rectangle of her proffered sign and the dark uniform of the officer nearest to her. Her brow is furrowed as she looks off into the distance, eyes glancing towards the street, mouth slightly open, seemingly frozen within this triangular wedge of space.

In both slogan and lettering, the phrase I AM A MAN serves as a reference to the Memphis Sanitation Strike of 1968, in which, for sixty-five days, the city's sanitation workers campaigned for the right to a worker's union that would grant them better wages and working conditions. For years, the workers—nearly all of whom were black—had suffered deplorable treatment and disregard from the city and their bosses and supervisors—all of whom were white. Black workers had no regular breaks, no place to change, wash up, or escape the weather, and no job security. On rainy days, the Department of Public Works would send them home with only two hours pay, cutting into their already meager paychecks, and workers who voiced their objections to this or other policies risked being fired for "talking back."[52] Two years earlier, workers had attempted to organize a strike, though their efforts were quickly suppressed. But on February 1, 1968, sanitation workers Echol Cole and Robert Walker were crushed to death by a garbage packer that had previously been identified as faulty. Less than two weeks later, nearly 13,000 black men in the Memphis Department of Public Works went on strike.

I AM A MAN became the leading slogan and prevalent placard of the movement ten days into the strike, when—with little provocation—white police officers turned mace and billy clubs on black workers, ministers, and strike supporters participating in a

[52] Michael K. Honey, *Going Down Jericho Road* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007), 3, 58.

nonviolent march through city streets.[53] "'I Am A Man' meant freedom," striker Taylor Roger explains. "All we wanted was some decent working conditions, and a decent salary. And be treated like men, not boys."[54] However, it was arguably the events of March 28, 1968—and more specifically, the photographs of these events—that fused this lettered sign with symbolism and rendered it iconic. Ernest C. Withers was one of the photographers who documented the march that took place that day. In a photograph taken before the start of this demonstration, sanitation workers stand in crowded formation and pose for the camera, presenting above their heads a solid wall of placards that read like a chorus of voices, each one affirming: I AM A MAN. (fig. 8). Gripping light wooden sticks to which the signs are affixed, the men hoist the phrase at varying heights. The framing of this scene is not unlike Catherine Opie's photograph of the peace march in Los Angeles. Positioned near the photograph's vertical center, the workers form a long horizontal band that extends beyond both the left and right edges and, like the striped ends of the demonstrators' boxy coffins, the mass of black and white placards pattern the band's uppermost border.

In a speech delivered on March 18 in support of the sanitation workers, Martin Luther King, Jr. introduced the idea of organizing a solidarity march to coincide with a general, citywide work stoppage.[55] Envisioning the monumental impact of such a demonstration, King also announced that he would lead it, and organizers of the march predicted it would be the largest of the movement, ten- to twenty-thousand strong. To

---

[53] For a comprehensive account of the February 22 march, see Honey, *Jericho Road*, 200–210.
[54] Honey, *Jericho Road*, 211.
[55] Honey, *Jericho Road*, 303.

ensure that their signs would be visible within the crowd, workers and organizers worked through the night to secure them to wooden pickets. Ernest Withers helped ready the placards, and recounts the experience:

> I remember that G. C. Brown and myself and one other fellow named Reverend Grant Harvey were the men that Reverend Jackson sent down on Bellevue to rent a saw to cut those sticks for the signs. And C. G. Brown printed those 'I AM A MAN' signs right over there at the Minimum Salary Building. I had a car and it was snowing, so we went and rented the saw and came back that night and cut the sticks. We cut them and nailed those 'I AM A MAN' signs on them.[56]

The March 28 demonstration was the only time these signs were used. What organizers had intended to be an impressive show of nonviolent determination quickly turned to chaos as black youths at the rear of the march began breaking windows with rocks and iron pipes. A heavily armed Memphis police force had surrounded the march but remained out of sight as the riot continued to build, and Withers and others watched with horror as young men stripped the signs from their sticks so that they could use the supports as weapons and tools for destruction.[57] King was quickly escorted from the scene. As organizers attempted to alert marchers from the sanitation worker's movement to retreat back to the safety of Clayborn Temple, the police descended. With relentless brutality, city and county officers pursued the weak and wounded marchers. Surrounding the church, they shot tear gas into its interior.

Though she holds the sign I AM A MAN, Sharon Hayes's 2005 action does not make the specifics of the 1968 event visible; while she cites the slogan of the Memphis

---

[56] Ernest C. Withers, quoted in F. Jack Hurley, "Photographing Struggle, Building Bridges," in *Pictures Tell The Story: Ernest C. Withers, Reflections in History* (Norfolk, VA: Chrysler Museum of Art, 2000), 84.

[57] See Hurley, "Photographing Struggle," 84; Honey, *Jericho Road*, 344.

Sanitation Strike, her protest does not recreate the context that gave birth to this phrase or that made its words significant. In fact—held by Hayes on the steps of St. Patrick's Cathedral, the site of numerous ACT UP protests during the early 1990s—the slogan gains different meaning. Those who exited the cathedral at the conclusion of that morning's mass may have guessed that Hayes directed her demonstration at the Catholic Church, defiantly challenging its conservative policies or narrow view of sexuality. Other photographs from this morning show crowds walking swiftly by Hayes as she hoists her sign in the air; one captures the inquisitive look of a woman who pauses to contemplate the relationship that Hayes holds to this message—perhaps measuring these words (I AM A MAN) against the androgyny of Hayes's body. (figs. 9-10). Only well-informed passersby would be able to grasp the layers of history invested both in the sign Hayes carries and the place on which she stands, understanding the long, tumultuous struggle of the Memphis Sanitation Workers as well as the desperation of ACT UP activists who fought for their own lives and the lives of dying friends and lovers. Here, through small, symbolic citations, Hayes brings both histories together and against a new, unfolding history in New York in 2005. But it is unclear if even Hayes herself is aware of the specificity of the sign she holds. In both slogan and lettering, the phrase I AM A MAN serves as a reference to the Memphis Sanitation Strike, but in structure it corresponds to one event, and date—the upended solidarity march of March 28, 1968. When nearly three hundred sanitation workers reassembled on March 29 to complete the march in peace, black ministers made sure that they left Clayborn Temple with signs only, since attaching

even light sticks to the back of these placards could give the police reason to attack once again.[58]

The photographs from *In the Near Future* are snapshots, candid moments captured by collaborators who, at each iteration, circle Hayes like paparazzi.[59] Yet they are also, if partially, staged. Hayes times her demonstrations so that she is present when the streets are busiest, ensuring that she will be photographed alongside a flow of strangers, like the crowd that pauses to peer back at her confrontation with New York police. This photograph—in which Hayes appears caught, pinned, and forced to explain her hold on the past within the space of the present (perhaps this is the condition Hayes describes as "being held in a spot, of resonating or stuttering, as it were, between two positions")—is the most frequently circulated and reproduced image from *In the Near Future's* mass of photos. The ubiquity of this photograph may be linked to a similar, deliberate framing of Hayes's project.[60] Overlapping referents from different points in time, Hayes's demonstrations do not re-perform isolated historical moments. Yet photographs from *In the Near Future* play on the look of images that have memorialized these moments as events within history and bolstered their presence within popular memory.

The white, male police officers who step between Hayes and the camera modify the message her sign connotes. Viewing this photograph, our attention is focused less

---

[58] Honey, *Jericho Road*, 390.
[59] For a personal description of Hayes's actions, see Sofía Hernández Chong Cuy, "Nothing will be as before," in *After Before – in the Near Future: Art in General New Commissions Program, Vol. 1*., ed. Sharon Hayes (New York: Art in General, 2007), 35-40.
[60] Hayes, "Keynote Lecture," 57.

squarely on the correspondence of this slogan to Hayes's body. Its declaration—I AM A MAN—is incorporated into the hierarchy that the uniformed police introduce, and we view Hayes's body in relation to these figures of masculine power, who, wedged between Hayes and the camera, emphasize her diminutive size. Faced with their aggressive presence, Hayes appears pressured to defend a more tenuous claim on the language she bears. One officer stands directly in front of Hayes, perhaps too close for comfort, blocking her path as he partially blocks our view; the other hangs back, yet threatens to intervene, glancing over at Hayes as he leans slightly towards her.

The police presence reads as potentially threatening because we know and remember other, similar images: photographs in which the appearance of policemen signifies the transition of a nonviolent demonstration into a scene of suppression and abuse. Whether or not Hayes is aware of the precise specificity of her handled sign—the March 28 demonstration in Memphis is defined not only by the solidarity of the striking sanitation workers, but by the devastating effects of an unchecked police force—this photograph evokes images of similar, violent episodes captured during the broader struggle for civil rights in the United States. Hayes does not replicate any one image from this era, but combines elements from many. The framing from her 2005 image may evoke a number of earlier photographs, including both Withers's picture of assembling strikers, picketed placards in hand, and those taken the following day. A tense scene awaited the men who sought to complete their march in peace. Advancing in single-file procession, their signs draped on strings around their necks so that the lettering—I AM A MAN—pressed against their torsos, sanitation workers were flanked by both city police and the

National Guard. Photographs from this day show armored tanks with mounted machine guns rolling down the center of Main Street; on the sidewalk, guardsmen stand in a menacing line, their rifles affixed with bayonets and pointed directly at the strikers. (fig. 11).

Hayes's image may also call to mind another well-known photograph, captured by Bill Hudson in Birmingham, Alabama on May 3, 1963 and reproduced on the front pages of dozens of northern newspapers the day following.[61] (fig. 12). On a crowded city street, Officer Dick Middleton grips fifteen-year-old Walter Gadsden by his shirt and sweater as he pulls him into the path of a lunging police dog. The German shepherd's jaws are opened, mid-snarl, as it leaps towards Gadsden's torso, and Gadsden's left knee, poised in self-defense, is bent at an angle that matches the pitch of the canine's jump. The violence captured in this photo has no comparison in the image from *In the Near Future*, yet other elements bear certain resemblance. A second officer occupies the right third of Hudson's photograph, the lead of the dog he restrains wrapped in multiple loops around his hand. We see this policeman from his rear left side, his holstered gun prominent, as he inclines slightly towards the photograph's center, so that his departure from this sideline seems imminent, and ominous. A crowd is visible behind Gadsden and in the space between the officers, and witnesses pause to turn back and stare. They are pictured against the textured wall of a brick storefront, and signs advertising restaurants—on the corner, "Jockey Boy," further down, "Jasper Sands"—hang overhead like the flags and

[61] For a more comprehensive discussion of this photograph and its history, see Martin A. Berger, *Seeing Through Race: A Reinterpretation of Civil Rights Photography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011), 35–39.

banners in the background of Hayes's New York action. Pictured in public space, street signs mark and structure the place of each protest. A sign between the heads of Middleton and Gadsden reads "6th AVE"; in New York, just above the police officer's cap, a marker identifies this as 51st Street; and in left-hand corner of the photo from Memphis, just above raised bayonets of the National Guard, a signpost bears the name "Beale Street."

Hayes's photograph, while not a straight restaging of any one image or event, selects and combines elements from the visual records that have come to define this era. The reason that this photograph has become the leading image of Hayes's project is likely linked to the impulse, described by Nato Thompson, to search for echoes of the '60s when locating signs of resistance today. Borrowing iconic signs and sites and documenting their reuse through the medium that made them iconic, Hayes draws on the appearance of the past as well as its actions. This photograph looks like protest because it resembles what we imagine protest to be, a vision that we've stitched together from the images we have come to inherit and now take as models for our own.

Enacting memory

Mourning the loss of his mother, Roland Barthes describes his attempts to find her—and in some way, revive her—through old photographs of her and her belongings. While many of these pictures depict his mother, they do not resurrect her. Barthes eventually locates an image that speaks to him: the Winter Garden Photograph, where, as a young girl, his mother poses alongside her brother within a glass-walled conservatory. "You could tell that the photographer had said, 'Step forward a little so we can see you,'"

Barthes writes. "She was holding one finger in the other hand, as children often do, in an awkward gesture."[62] Barthes describes this image but never shows it to his readers, presumably because it would not speak to us as it does to him. He writes, "It exists only for me."[63] Yet Margaret Olin suggests that the picture exists only for Barthes because it is not an actual photograph, but a composite built through the associations of other photographs he has encountered.[64] Drawing together images that Barthes discusses throughout his essays, Olin shows how the details of the Winter Garden Photograph that most wound Barthes are qualities that Barthes recognizes as his own; a childhood photograph of Barthes shows him holding one finger in the fist of his other hand, a gesture he described as his mother's.[65] Barthes uses these photographs to find more than just his mother—he endeavors to find a relation that ties his own body to hers. With the Winter Garden Photograph as his model, Barthes is able to feel confident in this communion: he relies on likeness both actual and invented to bridge his life to one that has passed. Olin writes, "He tried to use photography to satisfy his desire to possess or commune with his mother, to absorb her into himself and preserve her there through identifying with her."[66] Barthes finds himself in photographs of his mother, and his mother in photographs of himself.

---

[62] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 68–69.
[63] Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 73.
[64] Margaret Olin, "The Winter Garden and Virtual Heaven," in *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, ed. Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Olin (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 141.
[65] Olin, "The Winter Garden," 142.
[66] Olin, "The Winter Garden," 145.

The photograph preserves the past through its trace, extending the presence of a pictured subject through the lingering effect of its image. But because it attests to a moment that has or will soon pass, the photograph can also serve as a memorial. Viewing older photographs today, we can perceive these images as monuments to departed people and points in time, moments that have been but are no more. Left to History, these moments become static, dead: frozen as they are stilled through photographic capture. "History is hysterical: it is constituted only if we consider it, only if we look at it—and in order to look at it, we must be excluded from it," Barthes writes.[67]

In his searching examination of photographs of his mother, Barthes considers History, written with a capital *H*, to be time in which he did not exist—time on which he can lay no claim.[68] The distinction holds even when more broadly applied: time becomes bound as History when it is given narrative that stands separate from individual, lived experience, and official Histories, written and taught from textbooks, build and structure such exclusion. Yet Barthes is able to overcome the distance that stands between History and himself by matching objects from old photographs of his mother to the objects that fill his present space: the low chair, now placed beside his bed, or the raffia panels hung above the divan. In quick snatches of recognition, these parallels allow Barthes to momentarily "find" his mother by placing him within a scene from which he otherwise feels excluded. Barthes absorbs and preserves his mother through his enactment of her, declaring: "As a living soul, I am the very contrary of History, I am what belies it,

---

[67] Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 65.

[68] Barthes writes: "Is History not simply that time when we were not born? I could read my nonexistence in the clothes my other had worn before I can remember her." Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 64.

destroys it for the sake of my own history."[69] Barthes finds and makes a narrative of his own and, with it, the picture he desires.

Hayes's actions endeavor to create a similar potential. "My interest was actually to work with protest and protest signs by putting myself in the space of enactment," Hayes explains of *In the Near Future*.[70] Likening her enactments to Bertolt Brecht's notion of "natural" epic theater, Hayes understands herself to be both demonstrator and actor in these moments. "In Brecht's epic theater, demonstrators propose that the event has taken place: what you are watching is a repeat." This staging establishes an awareness of time similar to Barthes's as he observes a photograph of Lewis Payne awaiting execution: "*this will be* and *this has been*" ("*He is dead and he is going to die . . .")*.[71] But where, in that instant, Barthes is a spectator with knowledge gained through his temporal distance from the character he observes, Hayes recasts herself as both character and spectator through the events of her actions. Staging her demonstrations for the public eye, Hayes plays the part of protestor while simultaneously standing outside of this character through a critical awareness of the history and historical ramifications referenced by her sign and stage. The duality of her role (both character and spectator) collapses the monumentality of the moments—and images—she references, wielding their significance as an affective and even mutable force within the present, public sphere. Hayes melds her own image with iconic images of the past, and in doing so she

---

[69] Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 65.
[70] Bryan-Wilson, "We Have a Future," 87.
[71] Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 95–96.

rescues these representations and the moments they depict from the exclusive bounds of polished, "finished" History, presenting their impact and meaning as still unfolding.

Speaking to the crowds at Occupy Wall Street, Judith Butler exclaimed: "We're standing here together making democracy, enacting the phrase 'We the people!'"[72] Michael Taussig, describing a morning scene at Zuccotti Park, writes: "Mist clings to the skyscrapers. The mottled sky grows pink with the promise of light. My sun, 'tis of thee."[73] Both Butler and Taussig riff on the language of national allegory, making literal what these words have come to symbolize through abstraction. Their appropriation and adaptation of these phrases stems from a desire to match the picture of the present to the utopian image such emblems deem to be possible: to join the everyday life of the United States to the symbolic vision of *America* that permeates the mythologized concept of what the nation might be.[74]

This "utopian 'America' stands as the master-text to the historical nation," Lauren Berlant writes, and the same may be true of the images that circulate like emblems of a now fabled history.[75] These images—photographs, films, or replayed moments from national television—structure the stuff of our memories, whether or not we have directly experienced the events they depict. "Memories may come, as it were, third hand, from mass media or elite culture, from others' recollections, from another period's visual or print traces, from conjecture based on observation in the present," Christopher Castiglia

---

[72] Judith Butler, "Bodies in Public: Remarks at Zuccotti Park, October 23," in *Occupy! Scenes from Occupied America*, ed. Astra Taylor and Keith Gessen (Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2011), 193.
[73] Taussig, "I Made a Sign," 88.
[74] I borrow this dichotomy from Lauren Berlant. See: Lauren Berlant, *The Anatomy of National Fantasy: Hawthorne, Utopia, and Everyday Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 216.
[75] Berlant, *The Anatomy of National Fantasy,* 216.

and Christopher Reed explain, and John Berger suggests that photographs took the place not of drawings, engravings, or paintings, but memory itself.[76] "What photographs do out there in space was previously done within reflection."[77] Memory is not a strict retrieval of an archived past but rather an inventive and collective practice that is built both from visions we have and visions we inherit.

Hayes performs her actions with an awareness of the history she plays with, but not a faithfulness to this history, and she overlaps different moments on top of one another to create a composite that is neither truly of one time or another. As Hayes tries out the protest sign—sensing its weight and the burden of carrying it—she is also trying on what protest looks like in the photographs that have come to define it. Catherine Opie explains her early impulse to document political demonstrations as a trying on of identity, a measuring of her own self against the communities pictured through the lens of her camera. "I used the street as a way to figure out my own internal struggle with identity," she says. "You know, 'Could I be a business woman?' Art was a way of creating reference points for me."[78] If her return to street photography extends this process of comparison and discovery, perhaps Opie now looks to locate a scene that matches the images she has internalized: photographs of ACT UP, Queer Nation, or Jesse Jackson speaking in San Francisco.

Yet rather than making this image, orchestrating and framing it so that it matches what she longs for directly, Opie chooses to picture less romanticized scenes, in which

---

[76] Castiglia and Reed, *If Memory Serves*, 11.
[77] Berger, *About Looking*, 54.
[78] Opie, in Molesworth and Opie, "Catherine Opie," 81.

bored protesters and distracted, bubble gum blowing marchers predominate. The same might be said for Hayes, who, instead of printing a faithful reproduction of the Memphis Sanitation Worker's placards, holds a digitally-created approximation, its letters stretched to size. The model for this sign is clear, but compared to the original, Hayes's sign looks flimsy, a much cheaper version, a knockoff of the real thing. In photographs from the Memphis strike, the words printed by C. G. Brown have an emphasis and strength that Hayes's sign lacks. Hayes has given the first two words a uniform weight; only the line underscoring the AM distinguishes it from the I it succeeds. But in Brown's signs, the right half of that top line stands out with significance. The bar that crosses the A is lower and more distinct, lending the word gravity and ensuring its role as the phrase's anchor, and the right legs of both the A and the M are heavier than their stems, so that the word seems to propel itself forward with each reading.

Its words, their placement, and the structure of the sign are the same, but compared to those in Memphis, Hayes's placard seems lighter, backed by less force. Whether or not this effect is intentional, we might take it as a visual marker of the diluted protest that she enacts. After all, what does it mean to borrow a sign without fully acknowledging the painful circumstances that first necessitated its use? In creating a pictured history of her own, Hayes elects to only obliquely reference—and thus, perhaps slight—the histories she draws upon, and both her use and her presentation of this past are uncomfortably ambiguous. Though Hayes discusses the history of the signs she uses with passersby who stop to ask, she refuses to divulge her identity as an artist. As she explains, "That's the only thing I don't say. I say I'm interested in protest. I say

everything but that I'm an artist."[79] Hayes defends this decision as a means of avoiding the assumptions that her audience might make if they knew she was an artist: "then they think they know what I'm doing."[80] But this lack of transparency also prevents her public audience from becoming equal participants in the project and counteracts Hayes's assertion that her actions are akin to Brechtian theater, free of illusion or manipulation. Rather, Hayes's actions *are* manipulated, staged—like Opie's photographs—to emphasize her feeling that the present is lacking when compared to inherited, remembered, and pictured moments from the past.

"Photographs are relics of the past, traces of what has happened." John Berger writes. Yet "if the living take that past upon themselves, if the past becomes an integral part of the process of people making their own history, then all photographs would reacquire a living context, they would continue to exist in time, instead of being arrested moments."[81] Performing the memories of history we acquire and nurture—through photographs, re-told narratives, or personally remembered experiences—is a way of making these memories actual. Refusing history's exclusion, Hayes uses the photograph to give the present representation alongside the past, and to represent the past within the present. Hayes may recast herself as both a character and spectator of history in a performative collapse of time, but the public who pass her by or stop to stare are consigned to remain spectators or, through proximity to the central actor, unwitting characters within a work of which they are unaware. This division ensures that the scene

---

[79] Hayes, quoted in Bryan-Wilson, "We Have a Future," 88.
[80] Hayes, quoted in Bryan-Wilson, "We Have a Future," 88.
[81] Berger, *About Looking*, 61.

that surrounds Hayes appears as complacent as she feels it to be, so that the images from *In the Near Future* don't match the mold that Hayes holds up in remnants. The pictures Hayes creates are not the images she longs for, but images of this desire, a desire fueled by disappointment in the present and a longing for something that remains, steadfastly, just beyond reach.

Chapter 3: Somewhere, in the near future

The image heralded for kick-starting the Occupy movement into being takes the iconic statue of Wall Street—Arturo Di Modica's *Charging Bull* (1989)—as the support for its own message. (fig. 13). A female dancer balances on Di Modica's sculpture, her right foot arched against the triangular peak of the bull's back, and the animal's horns bracket the space in which she stands, her arms outstretched, left leg bent and raised behind her torso. While the bull lunges forcefully to the side, the dancer stands straight, poised in concentration, her eyes lowered to follow the line of the bull's angled, rightmost limb to the cobbled street below. Set against a dense cloud of smoke, the dancer seems elevated by an elegant determination that distinguishes her figure from the chaos of the image's lower half. Behind her, masked figures fight their way through the smoke's white curtain. One figure is hooded and carries a baton, and additional, shadowed outlines hint at the imminent arrival a larger crowd. The relation of the picture's different elements is not immediately clear. Does the mob intend to topple the bull? Or, already conquered by the dancer, does the bull now lead their charge? The question suspended in red type above the dancer's head gives voice to this provocative ambiguity, asking—"What is our one demand?"—while two lines near the lower edge—"September 17th. Bring Tent."—complete the image's invitation, a request for a definition, cause, and answer.

The Vancouver-based magazine *Adbusters* created this image and published it as a poster in July 2011, two months before protestors first converged on Wall Street in

support of the fledgling Occupy movement. Di Modica's *Charging Bull* marked the site of Occupy Wall Street's inaugural rally; following the group's decampment to Zuccotti Park, the bull was hastily cordoned off and placed under police watch. "We don't want anything to happen to the bull," an officer explained, though the sculpture's constant guard—a vigilance which persisted long after Occupiers had been evicted from the area—suggests that police were protecting more than this hulking bronze form: safeguarding not only the bull, but what the bull is most popularly understood to represent.

Di Modica intended his bull to be viewed as an image of the American spirit of determination, but since its first appearance outside the New York Stock Exchange, the sculpture has also come to stand as a symbol of American wealth and power.[82] The icon's sequester thus produced an image fitting of Occupy's fight. Buttressed by metal barricades and guarded by multiple police, the animal and the space it occupied seemed marked as belonging only to a privileged few, and these measures prevented even tourists and casual passersby from approaching, along with the Occupy crowd. Yet in spite of—or perhaps in response to—its seclusion, inspired efforts to reclaim the bull persisted. With the help of the Yes Men-organized Yes Labs, members of Occupy staged and filmed an action in which a costumed matador enticed the bull to escape from its pen. The video was circulated and remains available online.[83] Brandishing his red cape as he

---

[82] For more information on the sculpture's history, see: Arturo Di Modica, "Charging Bull: History," http://chargingbull.com/chargingbull.html.

[83] See: Andy Bichlbaum, "Wall Street Bull Survives Attack by Matador; Clowns Arrested," *Yes Lab*, November 9, 2011, http://yeslab.org/bull.

stands atop a parked police cruiser, the matador alters the imaginative space surrounding the sculpture and attempts to harness the bull as a force for the Occupy cause, coaxing him to charge the NYPD vehicle before his horns. The video's tagline, too, revises the connotations this sculpture evokes: in the sequence's final frames, the phrase "Enough of this bull" is suspended over black.

Beginning with the initial *Adbusters* poster, members of Occupy Wall Street deliberately appropriated and toyed with symbols of the systems they sought to critique, creating new meaning from existing images and structures. As I have detailed in the preceding chapters, the rearrangement of dominant forms and accepted patterns—through the collapse of distanced time, or the adaption and recontextualization of iconic images—creates the possibility of inventing different modes of relation and association. Sharon Hayes refers to the layered citations of *In the Near Future* as an "unspooling of history . . . [or] less an unspooling of history than a cobbling together of a semi-fictitious one for myself."[84] Similarly, Carolyn Dinshaw explains that rejecting time's traditional, linear structure presents "the possibility of touching across time," collapsing time to form communities across temporal divides.[85] Such reconfiguration opens up the possibility of envisioning a world counter to the "official" political public sphere, giving birth to counter publics, histories, memories, and nationalisms that allow for new and different

[84] Hayes, quoted in Bryan-Wilson, "We Have a Future," 37.
[85] Carolyn Dinshaw, in Carolyn Dinshaw et al., "Theorizing Queer Temporalities: A Roundtable," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 13, no. 2–3 (2007): 178.

modes of living.[86] Describing the imaginative and even spiritual basis for the invented form of counter-nationalism, Kobena Mercer writes: "amongst post-modern counter-nationalisms, which detach the emotional ties of belonging from the territorial claims of the nation state, such reinventions of tradition have engendered alternative ways of imagining the rights and duties of citizenship."[87]

In the months following the emergence of Occupy Wall Street, critics frequently faulted the movement for its lack of clear, unified demands. Ginia Bellafante described the movement's cause as "virtually impossible to decipher" because those identifying with the movement supported such a range of divergent causes.[88] Yet Occupy's perceived lack of cohesion stemmed in part from its refusal to fit itself into the mold against which it rebelled, and the formation and organization of Occupy can be read as a manifestation of the movement's desire for social and political reinvention. Bernard E. Harcourt explains that in resisting attempts to be categorized, the movement "rejected conventional political rationality, discourse, and strategies . . . [and] refused to align or identify itself along traditional lines." Operating through a rhizomic, nonhierarchical system of governance, Occupy confounded both "traditional understandings and predictable political categories."[89] The movement modeled an alternate mode of living that, as the tug-of-war over Di Modica's bull suggests, found symbolism in new forms and altered

---

[86] My concept of counterpublics and counter-memories builds from the work of Michael Warner and Lauren Berlant, among others. See: Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (Brooklyn, NY: Zone Books, 2002); Berlant, *The Anatomy of National Fantasy*.
[87] Kobena Mercer, "Imagine All the People: Constructing Community Culturally," in *Imagined Communities*, ed. Richard Hylton (London: Hayward Gallery, 1995), 13.
[88] Ginia Bellafante, "Gunning for Wall Street, With Faulty Aim," *The New York Times*, September 23, 2011.
[89] Harcourt, "Political Disobedience," 34.

the meaning of others. Michael Taussig described the scene at Zuccotti Park as "ablaze with flags—rainbows, the planet earth, and of course Old Glory, but with the logos of corporations instead of stars, " adding—"Poor stars, trumped like this."[90] Occupy Wall Street played with the reigning images of the political and public sphere it countered, citing them with mischievous irreverence and deliberate disobedience so as to craft a picture of the world that better fit their aspirations.

In the weeks following the eviction of protestors from Zuccotti Park, supporters of Occupy returned to Wall Street's *Charging Bull*. Triumphing over the barricades that confined the bull within its protected, separate sphere, they staged an action that reincarnated the *Adbusters* poster in moving form, liberating the dancer from the page. Through a video projection directed at the space above the statue, the group succeeded in creating the illusion that ballerina performed pirouettes on the animal's back.[91] From poster to projection, the move from two to three dimensions reflects the cause at the heart of the Occupy movement: the reclaiming and reinvention of public space. As W. J. T. Mitchell writes, Occupy's greatest speech act was the performance of occupation: "When pundits and commentators insisted that Occupy state its demands, then, they missed the most important statement that was being made by the movement, the same statement that was made during the American civil rights era: 'we shall not be moved.' We are here and

[90] Taussig, "I Made a Sign," 74.
[91] See "Occupy Cinema // Charging Bull // Tuesday, December 6," Vimeo video, 1:13, posted by "Occupy Cinema," December 6, 2011, http://vimeo.com/33211022.

are determined to dwell in this place as long as it takes."[92] The idea of *dwelling*—the need and importance of creating a space to inhabit—is the central focus of this chapter.

Occupation

"We're here, We're Queer, Get Used to it." The chants and slogans of Queer Nation insist on a present, and sometimes—in the case of the motto "We are Everywhere, We Want Everything,"—an omnipresent position. Claiming surrounding spaces as sites of their own belonging, members of Queer Nation refused to compromise to fit within the nation from which they were excluded. Instead, they charted the coordinates of a new nationality through the rearrangement of existing sites and signs, borrowing tactics from earlier activist groups as they made their occupation visible. Queer Nation was formed in part to make spaces safe for the queer community: the group emerged in 1990 as a force for fighting homophobia and queer invisibility in New York City, and its members patrolled the streets with walkie-talkies and whistles to prevent the targeted abuse of lesbians and gays.[93] As Lauren Berlant and Elizabeth Freeman write, Queer Nation worked to make these spaces safe from discrimination and queer bashing, but they also made them safe for the demonstration of new modes of patriotic ritual.[94] "Its tactics are to

---

[92] W. J. T. Mitchell, "Occupy: Three Inquiries in Disobedience," *Critical Inquiry* 39, no. 1 (Autumn 2012): 5.

[93] This foot patrol was known as the Pink Panthers, and was developed at an early Queer Nation meeting. The Pink Panthers eventually broke off to become a separate organization. See Lauren Berlant and Elizabeth Freeman, "Queer Nationality," in *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 1997), 156.

[94] Berlant and Freeman, "Queer Nationality," 151.

cross borders, to occupy spaces, and to mime the privileges of normality—in short to simulate 'the national' with camp inflection."[95]

Queer Nation presented queer politics through a co-option and transformation of traditional, national iconography. The group's first t-shirt bore the graphic outline of the United States, the east coast tinted red, the west coast tinted blue. Advancing inward from each side, the two hues fade and blend within the nation's heartland, mixing to form lavender—as Freeman and Berlant describe, "a shocking new shade of queer."[96] The symbolic conquest and transformation of American land for Queer Nation is echoed in the language of "Queers Read This," a gay manifesto distributed at the New York City Gay and Lesbian Pride Parade in June 1990. Calling for the increased visibility of gays and lesbians, the manifesto articulates the desire to "make every space a gay space. Every street a part of our sexual geography. A city of yearning and then total satisfaction. A city and a country where we can be safe and free and more . . ."[97]

In *foundlings*, Christopher Nealon writes: "I want to highlight the significance of that 'there' in lesbian and gay imaginations."[98] For Nealon, the *there* is an alternative, historical place, an 'other' to the present or given space to stand, in which imagined affiliations become possible. Nealon focuses on gay culture prior to the 1969 Stonewall riots, explaining the idea of *there* alongside a longing to extend individual existence

---

[95] Berlant and Freeman, "Queer Nationality," 148.
[96] Berlant and Freeman, "Queer Nationality," 155.
[97] "Queers Read This" (1990), an anonymously published manifesto, quoted in Michael R. Fraser, "Identity and Representation as Challenges to Social Movement Theory: A Case Study of Queer Nation," in *Mainstream(s) and Margins: Cultural Politics in the 90s*, ed. Michael Morgan and Susan Leggett (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 34.
[98] Nealon, *Foundlings*, 182.

towards a sensation of collective life. But Queer Nation's desire to map space with queer bodies as coordinates—to color the space of the nation purple by subsuming streets and squares into their sexual geography—also reaches towards an imagined, other space: a city that is yearned for, whose satisfaction is only anticipated. The imagined space of safe haven—a promised land of the near future—is not limited to the queer imagination. That *there* is more universally important, a beacon instrumental to the self-creation of any group that aims to queer the dominant system, to counter the sphere of an oppressive norm with a space of their own. "Queer politics, in short, isn't always or only about sexuality," writes Michael Warner, but opposition with the potential to transform the dominant modes of interaction, along with their structures, symbols, and—critically—their spaces.[99]

W. J. T. Mitchell, through Jules Michelet, suggests that the true monument of revolution is not the imposing obelisk or weather-worn statue, but empty space, the space in which people gather and join together in demonstration. "The scores of plazas, squares, and open urban spaces around the world, from Tahrir Square to Zuccotti Park, are themselves the appropriate monuments to the Occupy movement," he writes. "Despite the many differences in history and specific architectural design, a thing these places have in common is their emptiness, their function as what Martin Heidegger called a clearing, an opening in the dense fabric of the city, and thus a place of gathering."[100] Mitchell is quick to point out that these open spaces are not always for the taking, nor

---

[99] Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 221.
[100] W. J. T. Mitchell, "Image, Space, Revolution: The Arts of Occupation," *Critical Inquiry* 39, no. 1 (Autumn 2012): 18.

easily won. But as battlegrounds for the contestation of democracy, these sites are haunted by memories of earlier assemblies, and hold the potential for future, revolutionary change. "Perhaps," Mitchell concludes, "empty space is not just the only true monument to revolution but (as Jacques Derrida would have insisted) to the potential of a democracy and a new global constitution to come."[101]

In 2001, Catherine Opie photographed the Financial District in New York, part of her project on American Cities. This series, *Wall Street*, joined her earlier meditations on public space, including *St. Louis* (1999-2000), *Mini-malls* (1997-98), and *Skyways* (2001). Shot with a 7 x 17 banquet camera, photographs from *Wall Street* show the city in long, horizontal swaths, emphasizing the city's streetscapes rather than its skyscrapers. Eerily, the streets are deserted, and Opie refers to this series as "Wall Street emptied out."[102] Opie photographed the area on weekends and within the first hour of early morning light, and there are no people in sight. The city looks abandoned. Blinds and metal bars shutter ground-level windows, cars remain immobile, and trash litters the streets. (fig. 14).

Yet something brews in the emptiness of Opie's cityscapes. Her photographs from *Wall Street* are filled with suspense; because they stand so unnaturally still, our attention gravitates to what we imagine might have moved just before Opie clicked the shutter. Against a building's stone corner, the shadow of the lamppost seems set to shift, and the gust of wind that has blown a sheet of newspaper against the curb threatens to send it

---

[101] Mitchell, "Image, Space, Revolution," 32.
[102] Opie, quoted in Maura Reilly, "The Drive to Describe: An Interview with Catherine Opie," *Art Journal* 60, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 93.

further down the street. The buildings on either side funnel our view to the tall rectangle of light-filled space where this street runs into its perpendicular crossing. It seems inevitable that something here should stutter to life, that from our shaded spot on this boarded-up block we might see something flicker within the illuminated glow at its end. Looking at this scene, I wait for someone or something to round that lit bend. Perhaps it won't be just one figure, but a crowd, a mass, a movement—but surely, eventually, this spell of stillness will be broken, and the streets will be reclaimed.

Opie explains that her focus on American cities has a lot to do with loss, and her nostalgia for the dreams that these places embodied in earlier times. Her photographs don't capture the monumental grandeur of these cities, but depict their decay, showing vulnerability in the place of sleek façade. Yet, in images like this one, Opie's documentation of empty space contains the latent remnants of a prior potential. "Cities still hold this utopian notion of what America once was," Opie says.[103] Though empty, this street scene anticipates a gathering; when Opie describes what interests her in these series—"the way the language of the people is embedded in the body of the structures"—we realize that the city *needs* to be empty so that we can recognize it as a stage, a space united with characters only temporarily unseen. We feel their near presence, await the moment when they become visible, perhaps marching from Zuccotti Park, only two blocks away.

It is possible, then, to view Opie's recent photographs of protests and assemblies as connected to, or a continuation of, her *American Cities* project. Opie pictures the

[103] Opie, quoted in Reilly, "The Drive to Describe," 94.

moment that her earlier, empty scenes anticipate, filling up these city parks and streets with demonstrators of diverse causes: for peace, for immigration, for gay marriage, or for the message of the Tea Party movement. With insistence, Opie frames these crowds against the scenes in which they stand, and her images display a precise attention to the relation of these figures to the surrounding ground and sky. The horizon line remains a strong constant across Opie's documentation of different events. The bodies of Tea Party supporters draped in patriotic colors are pictured at roughly the same height as the rows of coupled protestors of California's Proposition 8; the pattern of thick tree branches and "Don't Tread On Me" flags replaced by a similar expanse of sky and greenery. (figs. 15-16). In her photographs of President Obama's 2008 Inauguration, Opie shows the patriotic assembly that crowded the National Mall, a space of heightened symbolism—as Mitchell describes, "the principal site of the national exercise of the First Amendment, the right to peacefully assemble and now to occupy."[104] Opie photographs the space as it is most popularly remembered on that day—filled to the point of overflow, packed and papered with American flags and bodies bundled up against the cold. Yet some of Opie's most powerful images of this event are her pictures of those who lingered on the Mall after the majority had departed. (fig. 17). Here, the horizon divides Opie's photograph in two, nearly even halves, and the frozen, trampled ground—brown and barren—stretches forward to the capitol that sits upon this skyline. Traces of the earlier crowd surround the remaining figures, who sit and stand in sparse formation among forgotten bags and littered wrappers. Opie photographs these figures from behind, and they look towards the

[104] Mitchell, "Image, Space, Revolution," 32.

horizon and the capitol building, studying the scene on the large television that juts into the blue-grey sky.

Though "filled," the sense of longing that permeates Opie's empty cityscapes similarly defines these more populated photographs. There is still a sense of desiring and dreaming of a *there*: a space envisioned and other than that present. Beneath the scaffolding of audio equipment and oversized screens, the remaining crowd appears dwarfed by a towering stage set, distanced from the main event they now watch on TV. Here, Barack and Michelle Obama wave to spectators at the Inaugural Parade, celebrating the beginning of a new, hopeful period in American politics at a scale that is larger than life. Dwelling within the emptying expanse of the National Mall, these lingering figures watch and imagine a scene they look to but do not occupy, a place beyond the isolated here and now.

Then and There

If Opie's photographs gesture to a moment beyond the one she pictures, envisioning a space or time adjacent to or just beyond the present, the *there* they look to is situated partly in the past. When Maura Reilly suggests to Catherine Opie that she is "nostalgically American . . . nostalgic for the myth of America, as the land of the free, as the land of opportunity," Opie agrees. "I guess I am nostalgic for what America was set out to stand for: freedom, diversity, and so on."[105] Like Sharon Hayes, Opie's desires for the future are modeled on the images and attitudes of a kind of lost past, remembered but

[105] Reilly, "The Drive to Describe," 95.

not realized within the current social or political scene. For Opie as well as Hayes, the losses of time are poignantly and personally felt in the absence of friends and former spaces of belonging. Reflecting on the sense of loss that defines much of her work, Opie explains, "Maybe it's because, in my generation, being forty years old, we've experienced more loss in our youth through what has happened with AIDS."[106]

Alongside the loss of life, queer communities across the nation have been deprived of the sites they once occupied. In the wake of the AIDS crisis, for example, cities moved to shut down bathhouses and sex clubs, both sites of sexually open and supportive communities. The waning of ACT UP and Queer Nation led to a similar loss of both the worlds that members of these groups envisioned and the safe spaces they created. The fostering of a safe space for gays and lesbians had been so crucial to the identity of ACT UP that relationships between its male and female members were often kept a secret from others, or became a source of conflict. Zoe Leonard explains that these intimacies were viewed as jeopardizing the autonomous environment the group created: "We had created a safe queer space and now there were people having heterosexual sex within that space, occupying that space. I can understand now why that was threatening."[107] Over time, the spaces structured by groups like ACT UP and Queer Nation lost definition, replaced by campaigns for the integration and assimilation of gays and lesbians into straight culture rather than advocating for a separate, queer space of their own.

---

[106] Opie, quoted in Reilly, "The Drive to Describe," 94.
[107] Zoe Leonard, quoted in Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings*, 193.

Yet loss is more widely and necessarily incorporated into the envisioning of future utopias. "Utopia is always about the not-quite-here or the notion that something is missing," José Esteban Muñoz writes.[108] The construction of utopian spaces is motivated by disappointment in the present state and the circumstances surrounding citizenship, politics, or social belonging. As both the material and symbolic conditions of U.S. citizenship have shifted over recent decades, the promise of American opportunity and commodity ownership—and the fantasy of the "good life"—has become increasingly fragile. Lauren Berlant explains how citizens who feel they have lost access to the American Dream are compelled to resurrect the nation that this and other mythic concepts nostalgically imagine. Desperate to restore a former, "normal" state of living, they hold up this "lost world" as a utopian horizon towards which to aspire.[109]

What has been lost becomes romanticized through the desiring of it, whether or not it has been directly experienced. The utopian notion of the American nation has been built through the circulation of images, narratives, and icons which became the basis for constructed, imaginative memories of historical, national life. But memories acquired third hand are no less important than those that have been personally lived. Memories enable the creation of a world or place beyond given time and space and are a form of resistance and survival in the face of lacking or painful conditions of the present. They are the means for living beyond the confined moment. "We come to dwell in places

---

[108] José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: NYU Press, 2009), 118.

[109] Berlant, *The Queen of America*, 2. Kobena Mercer has also written about longing for what has been lost, explaining: "'Community' has come to be a keyword of contemporary life, not because we all live in one but because most of us do not: it is the lack of it that makes it valued, it is the loss of it that makes it desired, it is the envisioning of it that makes it real." See Mercer, "Imagine All the People," 12.

we've never been," says Roni Horn, describing the way that Kansas, through Dorothy Gale's journey, continues to occupy her imagination.[110] Memories of places both real and imagined—either empty or inhabited—enable the construction of other worlds and shape the notion of a *somewhere* that has yet to be entirely glimpsed.

> The existence . . . of these unseen but accessible places is of consequence to each of us. . . We need these places that we've never traveled to, that we may never go to. We need them, not for escape, but for measure: of all the places we have been to, and even of ourselves as well. We need them as a way of balancing what is, with what might be; And as a way of understanding the scope of things, of admitting that the things beyond us are also the things that define us. These are places that are at once both actual and acts of imagination. They function to keep the world large, hopeful, and unknown . . . In acknowledging them we understand that we are something more than the body we inhabit and the things we consume; and that we dwell in places beyond our immediate perception or reach — so that we may see beyond our sight.[111]

Christopher Castiglia and Christopher Reed articulate a similar relationship when they quote Greta Garbo in the title role for *Queen Christina*, the 1933 camp classic: "It is possible to feel nostalgia for a place one has never seen."[112] Likewise, it is also possible to feel nostalgia for a time through which one has not lived.

When Sharon Hayes stages the actions of *In the Near Future*, she constructs new sites and images of protest through the resurrection of past movements and events. These events are not reinstated in their entirety, but through their isolated, iconic elements: the signs and staging grounds that have been absorbed into popular memory through photographs, movies, and documentary films. Hayes builds events for the present—and

---

[110] Roni Horn, "My Oz (2006)," in *Vatnasafn / Library of Water* (London; Göttingen, Germany: Artangel/Steidl, 2007), 170.
[111] Horn, "My Oz," 170–171.
[112] Castiglia and Reed, *If Memory Serves*, 176–177.

photographs for the future—through her adaptation and rearrangement of these citations, and though these events and their images do not match the representations of history she longs for, they lean towards this possibility. Despite the lonely presence of her solo protests, Hayes suggests that her use of formerly radical speech might ignite a broader revolution: if not today, perhaps tomorrow (or, in the near future). "Perhaps I have been rewinding to certain moments in time, in part to entertain a possibility that things could have unfolded a different way," Hayes reflects. " . . . I've been invested in reinserting more radical notions of liberation into the current staid, conservative conversation about queerness and mainstream politics. But maybe I am also, on some level, trying to disturb the timeline of events that, in 1972, marched off in such a distinctly less radical direction than the GLF (Gay Liberation Front) had proposed."[113] For Opie, the horizon of possibility also represents a loop back through history, and she looks through her lens for signs of the passion, community, and commitment she remembers seeing in earlier moments. The space that Opie and Hayes long for—the *there* that they seek out—is not squarely situated ahead of the present moment. Through the twists and layers of time and place, constructed memory and lived experience, this *there* is also situated partly within the past.

As Castiglia and Reed point out, the evocation of the past within hopes and aspirations for the future grounds this idealism in the experiences and events of earlier times. "If something has been lost, it must have once existed; if it has escaped our grasp,

[113] Hayes, in Geyer and Hayes, *History Is Ours*, 27.

it once was held, however tenuously."[114] Narratives of loss can thus strengthen yearnings for the future, making this vision seem more realistically within reach. "The pastness of memories . . . gives vision the force of possibility. Asserting the *once having been* status of memory's content, its previous existence as a socially viable reality (whether or not that 'real' ever existed), the pastness of memory forestalls that such alternative visions of reality *could not be*."[115] In making these visions seem more plausible, the past also serves as a buffer against the easy dismissal that has conventionally plagued activist groups, whose calls for change are frequently and easily brushed off as silly or illogical, juvenile or exhibitionistic.[116] Modeling the space for future occupation on sites inhabited in the past gives structure and heft to otherwise immaterial utopian dreams.

The nostalgia that Opie describes—a nostalgia for earlier opportunities and past, political potential—is thus not a feeling contained solely to backward glances. Bolstered by a disappointment with the present, nostalgia like this is also the basis for a vision that simultaneously faces in the direction of the future; as such, it is not quite nostalgia. As Frederic Jameson writes, "To describe this feeling as 'nostalgia' is about as adequate as

---

[114] Castiglia and Reed, *If Memory Serves,* 178–179.

[115] Castiglia and Reed, *If Memory Serves,* 13–14.

[116] In the face of a privacy-based model of political duty and patriotism, the embodied public has been delegitimized and demonized. As Lauren Berlant notes, "when collective contestation does happen, it becomes cast a scene of silly and/or dangerous subrationality, superficiality, or hysteria." Progressive, public protest has in many ways retained the extremist label initially transferred by the right, and it is doubly humiliated within the mainstream media. Portrayed as both silly and dangerous, public gestures of citizenship are presented as proof that their claims are illegitimate. See Lauren Berlant, *The Queen of America*, 180. Such language is not restricted to portrayals of the left. Recently, the public social movements of both conservative and progressive factions have been belittled and derided by public opinion and the mainstream news. See, for example, *New York Times* coverage of the Tea Party and Occupy Movements: Kate Zernike, "Poll Shows Negative View of Tea Party on the Rise," *The New York Times*, August 5, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/08/05/us/politics/05teaparty.html; Bellafante, "Gunning for Wall Street."

to characterize the body's hunger, before dinner, as 'nostalgia for food.'"[117] Freed from bound, exclusive history (or, as Barthes would specify through capitalization, History) and refastened to the present, memories of the past work to carve out a space of possibility just beyond or alongside the space of the present, an alternative site in which to dwell.[118] When José Esteban Muñoz describes his formative memories as a queer teenager growing up in Miami, he focuses on precisely this experience of dwelling within spaces—and on stages—that open onto and promise new and hopeful modes of living.

> We were learning . . . that there was another stage out there for us, both temporal and spatial, one in which potentiality, hope, and the future could be, should be, and would be enacted. Today I write back from that stage that my mother and father hoped I would quickly vacate. Instead, I dwell on and in this stage because I understand it as one brimming with a utopian performativity that is linked to the ideality that is potentiality. This potentiality is always in the horizon and, like performance, never completely disappears but, instead, lingers and serves as a conduit for knowing and feeling other people.[119]

Muñoz locates this realization—"that there was another stage out there" in which he might dwell—within a similar experience of dwelling, of extended duration. He recognizes this future stage as he sits in his childhood friend Tony's parked car, listening to the Germs song *Forming*: parked, taking up time and space as he sits in a vehicle designed to cut quickly through the surrounding landscape, to transport its occupants from point *a* to point *b*. Dwelling in the space of this car allows Muñoz to glimpse the stage of his future, just as this later stage enables his recognition of the perpetual potentiality of the space that is always located at the horizon.

---

[117] Frederic Jameson, *Postmodernism: Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991), 331.
[118] See Barthes, *Camera Lucida,* 64.
[119] Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*, 113.

Catherine Opie and Sharon Hayes create such stages, spatial and temporal sites that provide a space in which to stand while reaching towards another. When Opie, mourning her lack of political agency, settles for the vehicle of the photograph as a document of time and space, saying "that in itself is okay for me now," perhaps she does so with anticipation for what this photograph might later allow.[120] Marking and documenting space as a stage for past and present occupation, both Opie and Hayes create spaces in which to dwell. These are sites in which to linger until the next stage—envisioned and remembered but still not yet fully pictured—circles around into being (someday, somewhere, in the near future).

[120] Opie, in Bowers and Opie, *Between Artists*, 52–53.

Afterword

"You can get from port to port, but you can never get to the horizon. That became really fascinating to me on so many levels of thinking about what it is, as human beings, we're really trying to get to. What is the end? What is the final word?"

— Catherine Opie[121]

I have focused here on the way that future and alternative sites of occupation are modeled on and inspired by visual or emotional associations with times past. These associations are partial, and the recuperation or reactivation of the past is never whole, but fragmentary and layered. Sharon Hayes evokes the histories of both the Memphis Sanitation Strike and ACT UP through the use of small yet potent traces of their pasts, enacting both but reenacting neither. And in looking back longingly at groups like ACT UP and Queer Nation, it is safe to assume that both Hayes and Opie desire the sight and experience of the civil disobedience to which these groups subscribed, not the conditions that necessitated that these groups take to the streets. Desiring the past is a tricky thing because it is often imagined only in part, and this selection occludes the remaining whole of the story. As Zoe Leonard explains:

> When I hear people say that they wished they had been there during the early days of AIDS activism, that they missed out on something, I feel a queasy sensation. I understand the hunger to participate in a moment of community and bonding, I sympathize with a desire to be part of a dynamic, creative and thoroughly queer movement. And yet, simultaneously, I find that statement painful and alienating. In some way, the sentiment is baffling: would you want to lose your best friend or your lover? Dozens of colleagues, friends, and acquaintances? Would you want to

[121] Opie, in Molesworth and Opie, "Catherine Opie," 91.

take care of your friends while they were sick and suffering, to watch them die?[122] How, then, can we think about Hayes's appropriation—what it means for her to hold the sign I AM A MAN? The slogan backs onto a tremendously complex history, one that is not fully acknowledged by Hayes or represented in her action; the picketed construction of Hayes's sign alludes to the violence that defined the sanitation worker's March 28 demonstration and the events of the weeks following, but this brutality is not directly pictured. Is Hayes aware of these allusions, or are her viewers? What does it mean to cite an icon of a movement without addressing the pain, suffering, and sorrow that accompanied its use?

The sixty-five day strike of Memphis sanitation workers had far reaching effects, transforming not only that city, but the nation as well. Martin Luther King, Jr. saw the situation in Memphis as parallel to the Poor People's Campaign he struggled to launch in the late 1960s, and he hoped that his involvement in the strike might serve to bolster his campaign and the broader cause of civil rights within the United States. When rioting and police brutality overwhelmed the non-violent demonstration and city-wide work stoppage planned for March 28, King returned the following month to stage this march once more. But on the day following his arrival—April 4, 1968—King was shot and killed as he stood on the balcony outside his Memphis hotel room. The march planned for April 8 was held in King's absence, and signs reading "Honor King: End Racism," joined the I

[122] Zoe Leonard, "Muscle Memory," in *Coming After: Queer Time, Arriving Too Late, and the Spectre of the Recent Past*, ed. John Davies (Toronto: The Power Plant, 2012), 67.

AM A MAN placards and others calling for union justice.[123] James Reynolds, the Undersecretary of Labor whom President Lyndon Johnson eventually dispatched to negotiate the end of the strike, described the Memphis Sanitation Strike as "a pebble dropped into a calm pool," whose "resulting rings have created fantastic national problems."[124]

Mass political movements are often simplified by their representative icons, so that it is difficult to retain a complete sense of the impact of these events within the larger arc of history. This historical imagery is either remembered and recycled without a full understanding of its signification or the context from which it emerged, or can serve to solidify the context represented, producing a static equation of sign and meaning. The shock of Hayes's actions stems partly from the ambiguous and anachronistic slogans of her placards, which jolt passersby into taking notice of her protests. Even if they aren't aware of the exact moment Hayes's signs reference, these printed phrases are unexpected within the time and place in which she stands. But, understanding the tremendous weight of meaning that sits behind each small citation, the ambivalence that surrounds the use of these signs is also shocking, and unsettling. In photographs from this action, strangers pass quickly by—some glancing up at Hayes's placard, others averting their eyes. Who notices, and who knows? A few frames picture Hayes encircled by a small audience, to whom she explains the source of her sign.[125] But what story does she tell this gathered

[123] Honey, *Jericho Road*, 476.
[124] Honey, *Jericho Road*, 483.
[125] See Bryan-Wilson, "We Have a Future," 88.

crowd? Does she tell them about the actions of the Memphis police, about the assassination of Dr. King?

Then again, does it matter which version of the narrative she tells? In *About Looking,* John Berger critiques the way that images are "frequently . . . used tautologically so that the photograph merely repeats what is being said in words."[126] Images are used to illustrate an argument or thought that moves forward on a direct and unilinear path. But, as Berger points out, memory doesn't operate in a straight line, progressing uniformly forward; "memory works radially," through various and intersecting associations.[127] Berger includes two sketches to illustrate this distinction: unilinear thought is represented by a straight, horizontal line, capped on its right end by an arrow, while memory's radial structure is shown like a starburst: eight short, dark lines ring a small circle of empty space. (fig. 18). There are no arrows in this second diagram, so we can't tell the direction in which these lines move; it is unclear whether they gravitate inward, or radiate out.

The two figures help readers visualize the shift Berger calls for under the rubric of a new, "alternative photography," the task of which "is to incorporate photography into social and political memory, instead of using it as a substitute which encourages the atrophy of memory."[128] Berger clarifies: "If we want to put a photograph back into the context of experience, social experience, social memory, we have to respect the laws of memory. We have to situate the printed photograph so that it acquires something of the

---

[126] Berger, *About Looking*, 64.
[127] Berger, *About Looking*, 64.
[128] Berger, *About Looking*, 62.

surprising conclusiveness of that which *was* and *is*."[129] Hayes may not enact the narrative history of the Memphis Sanitation strike, but, holding the words I AM A MAN above her head, she embodies its most iconic action. In her hands, the weight of this sign is more than pictured—it becomes real, revived and transported from 1968 to 2005. Here, 1968, 2005, and 1989 are brought into momentary alignment, triangulated and rephotographed so that the pictured history is composite: enacted and remembered, made visible while still left partly to allusion. Hayes's photographs don't tell full stories, but borrow from many, and the provocative ambiguity of her actions and their documentation leaves *In the Near Future* open to interpretations drawn from both the present moment and memory, creating significance that varies for each person who encounters her project. Thus, the scene Hayes pictures isn't entirely represented within her photograph's frame, and it is impossible to integrate these images into a narrative that moves in one, straightforward or linear direction.

We might borrow Berger's diagrams to serve as an illustration of the distinction outlined in preceding chapters: the difference between passing through and dwelling, between leaving the past behind and reclaiming it, drawing it near to create a space for future occupation. Hayes's gathering of different traces and associations is akin to the circular fan of lines that compose Berger's second sketch. Drawn from different contexts, they join to form a permeable border that establishes and distinguishes the space they ring as different, though not divided, from what surrounds. The experience of layered time

[129] Berger, *About Looking*, 65.

and place cultivated by Hayes and envisioned by Opie establishes the space pictured in their photographs as sites of potential. As Berger cites of Brecht, these works permit

> *. . . the spectator*
> *To experience this Now on many levels, coming from*
> *Previously and*
> *Merging into Afterwards, also having much else Now*
> *Alongside it*.[130]

Opie and Hayes create the frame for something new, the stage for a scene drawn from so many moments past, imagined, and yet to be. Envisioned, felt, longed for, we are still waiting for it to be pictured.

[130] Bertolt Brecht, quoted in Berger, *About Looking*, 65.

Figures

Fig. 1. Catherine Opie, *Untitled #1 (October 21st, 2010)*, 2010. Inkjet print, 37 ½ x 50 in.

Fig. 2. Sharon Hayes, *In the Near Future (THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT MIGHT HAVE TO CALL IN THE NATIONAL GUARD TO PUT THIS REVOLT DOWN!),* November 9, 2005, 9–10 AM, Washington Square Park Arch, Washington Square North & 5th Avenue. Photographed action.

Fig. 3. Sharon Hayes, *In the Near Future*, 2009. Multiple-slide projection installation: 13 actions, 12 projections, 1,053 slides. Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York. Still image taken from "One Question: Sharon Hayes," Vimeo video, 4:51, discussion with Hayes about *In the Near Future* on the occasion of her exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum, New York, posted by "CAG," May 19, 2011, http://vimeo.com/23971715.

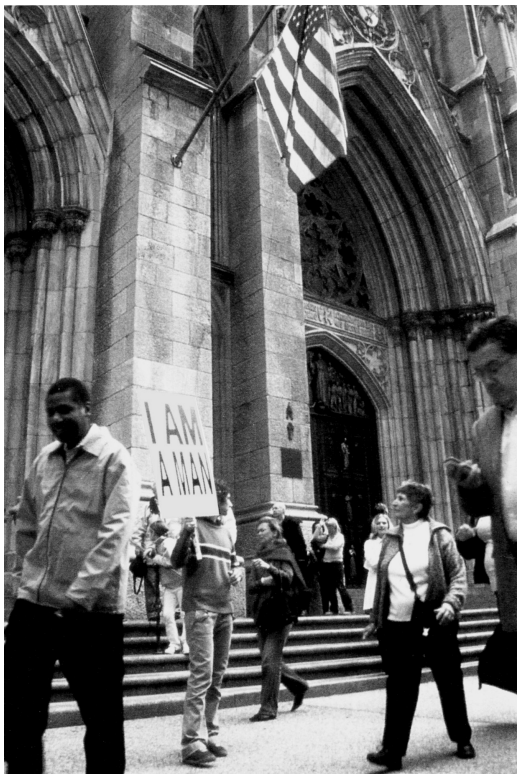
Fig. 4. Rink Foto, *San Francisco Gay Parade*, 1977. From Julia Bryan-Wilson, "We Have a Future: An Interview with Sharon Hayes," *Grey Room* no. 37 (Fall 2009): 78–93.

Fig. 5. Catherine Opie, *Untitled #4 (Peace March, Los Angeles, CA)*, 2007. C-print, 18 x 24 in.

Fig. 6. Sharon Hayes, *In the Near Future (ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS),* November 1, 2005, 3 - 4 PM, Union Square. Photographed action.

Fig. 7. Sharon Hayes, *In the Near Future (I AM A MAN),* November 6, 2005, 11 AM - 12 PM. Photographed action.

Fig. 8. Ernest Withers, *I Am A Man*, Sanitation Workers Strike, Memphis, March 28, 1968.



Figs. 9-10. Sharon Hayes, *In the Near Future (I AM A MAN),* November 6, 2005, 11 AM – 12 PM. Photographed action.

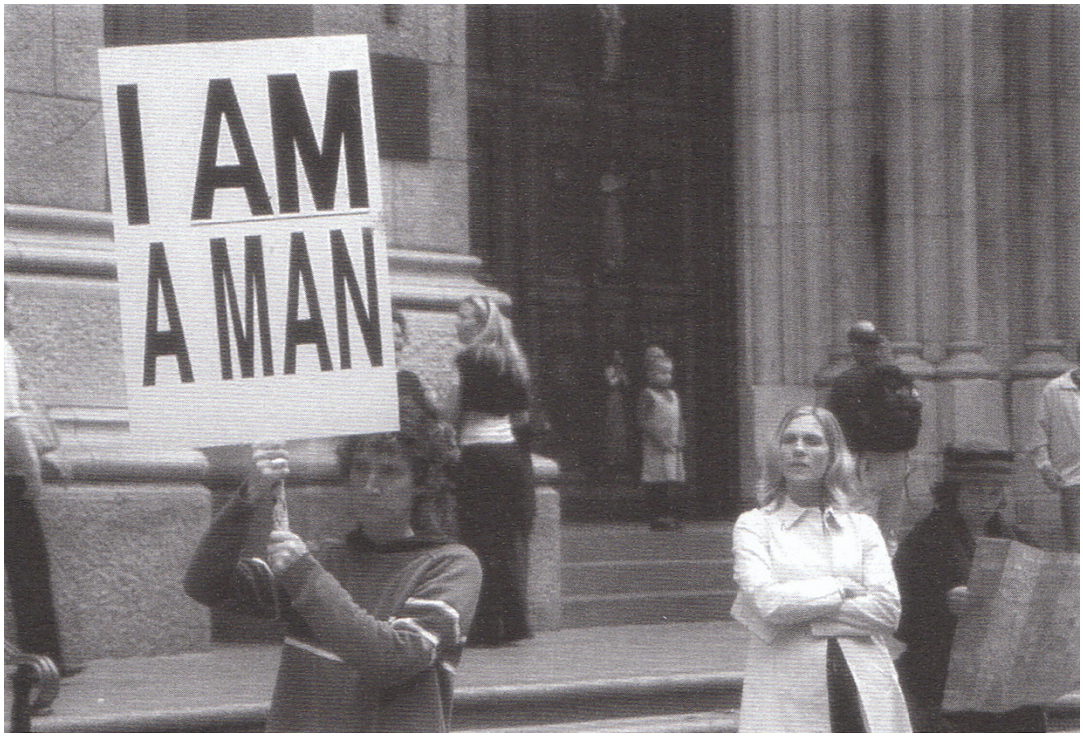


Fig. 11. A.P. Photo, 1968 Memphis sanitation workers strike. Source: politico.com, "6 historic public-worker strikes," September 10, 2012, http://www.politico.com/gallery/2012/09/6-historic-public-worker-strikes/000429-005817.html.

Fig. 12. Bill Hudson, *Walter Gadsden Attacked by K-9 Units, Birmingham,* Alabama, May 3, 1963. AP/Wide World Photos and Bill Hudson, New York.

Fig. 13. *Adbusters*, poster for Occupy Wall Street, July 2011. Source: http://occupywallstwestcoast.wordpress.com/.

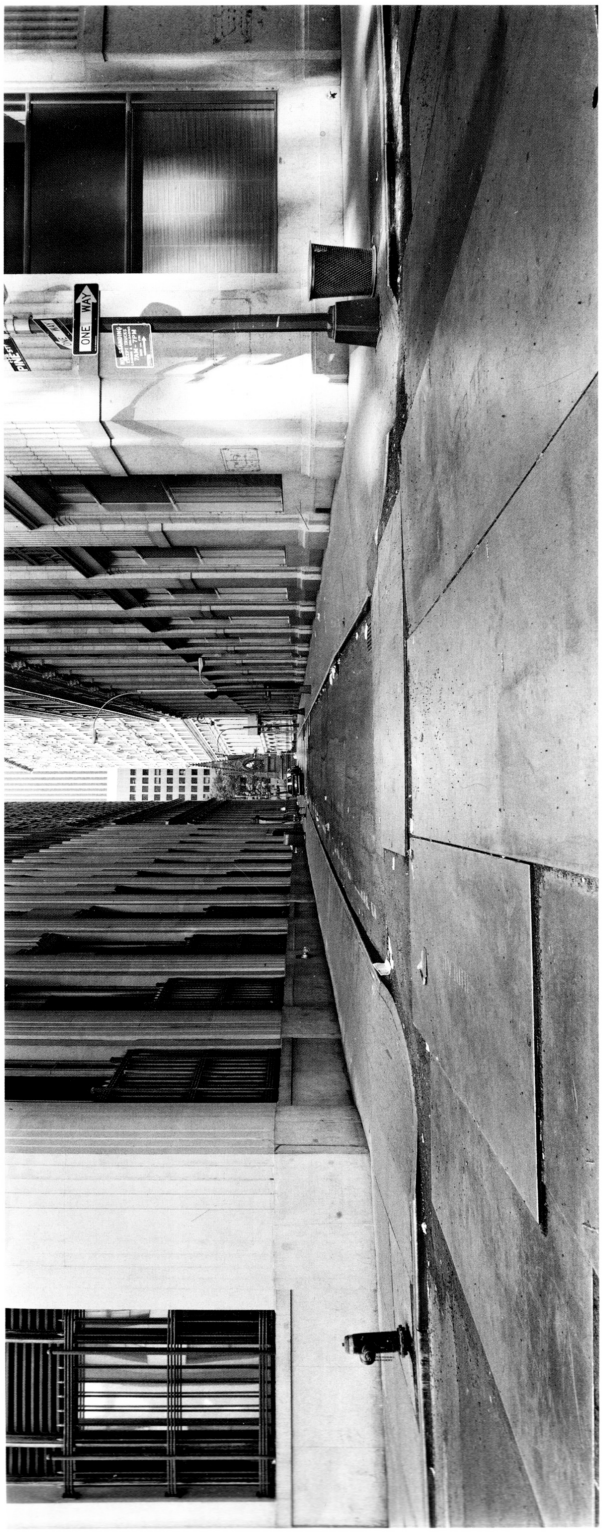


Fig. 14. Catherine Opie, *Untitled #14 (Wall Street)*, 2001. Inkjet print (iris), 16 x 41 in.

Fig. 15. Catherine Opie, *Untitled #3 (Tea Party Rally)*, 2010. Inkjet print, 16 x 24 in.

Fig. 16. Catherine Opie, *Untitled #1 (March 4th, 2009)*, 2009. Inkjet print, 16 x 24 in.

Fig. 17. Catherine Opie, *Untitled #1 (January 20th, 2009)*, 2009. C-print, 37½ x 50 in.

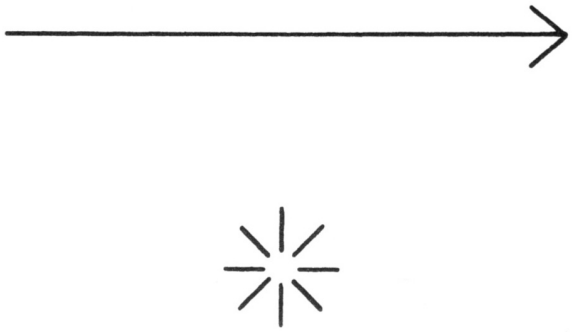


Fig. 18. John Berger, diagrams illustrating the unilinear use of photographs (top) and the radial operation of memory (bottom), 1980. From John Berger, *About Looking* (1980; repr., New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 64.

Bibliography

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. Thetford, Norfolk: The Thetford Press Ltd., 1983.

Azoulay, Ariella. "A Civil State of Emergency." *Artforum* 50, no. 4 (December 2011): 230–235.

Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida*. Translated by Richard Howard. New York: Hill and Wang, 1981.

Bellafante, Ginia. "Gunning for Wall Street, With Faulty Aim." *The New York Times*, September 23, 2011.

Berger, John. *About Looking*. 1980. Reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 1991.

Berger, Martin A. *Seeing Through Race: A Reinterpretation of Civil Rights Photography*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011.

Berlant, Lauren. "'68, or Something." *Critical Inquiry* 21, no. 1 (Autumn 1994): 124–155.

Berlant, Lauren. *The Anatomy of National Fantasy: Hawthorne, Utopia, and Everyday Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Berlant, Lauren. *Cruel Optimism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.

Berlant, Lauren. *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship*. Durham; London: Duke University Press, 1997.

Berlant, Lauren. "Thinking About Feeling Historical." In *Political Emotions: New Agendas in Communication*, 229–245. New York: Routledge, 2010.

Berlant, Lauren, and Elizabeth Freeman. "Queer Nationality." In *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and Citizenship*, 145–173. Durham; London: Duke University Press, 1997.

Bhabha, Homi K. "DissemiNation: time, narrative, and the margins of the modern nation." In *Nation and Narration*, edited by Homi K. Bhabha. London; New York: Routledge, 1990.

Bichlbaum, Andy. "Wall Street Bull Survives Attack by Matador; Clowns Arrested." *Yes Lab*, November 9, 2011. http://yeslab.org/bull.

Bowers, Andrea, and Catherine Opie. *Between Artists*. New York: A.R.T. Press, 2008.

Brown, Wendy. "Resisting Left Melancholia." In *Loss*, edited by David Eng and David Kazanjian, 458–465. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003.

Bryan-Wilson, Julia. "We Have a Future: An Interview with Sharon Hayes." *Grey Room* no. 37 (Fall 2009): 78–93.

Burton, Johanna. "Sharon Hayes, Art in General." *ARTFORUM* 44, no. 7 (2006): 294.

Butler, Judith. "Bodies in Public: Remarks at Zuccotti Park, October 23." In *Occupy! Scenes from Occupied America*, edited by Astra Taylor and Keith Gessen, 192–193. Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2011.

Castiglia, Christopher, and Christopher Reed. *If Memory Serves: Gay Men, AIDS, and the Promise of the Queer Past*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012.

Crimp, Douglas. *Melancholia and Moralism: Essays on AIDS and Queer Politics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002.

Crimp, Douglas. "Mourning and Militancy." *October* 51 (Winter 1989): 3–18.

Cvetkovich, Ann. *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003.

Davies, Jon, Sharon Hayes, and Zoe Leonard. *Coming After: Queer Time, Arriving Too Late, and the Specter of the Recent Past*. Toronto: The Power Plant, 2012.

Di Modica, Arturo. "Charging Bull: History," n.d. http://chargingbull.com/chargingbull.html.

Dinshaw, Carolyn, Lee Edelman, Roderick A. Ferguson, Carla Freccero, Elizabeth Freeman, Judith Halberstam, Annamarie Jagose, Christopher Nealon, and Tan Hoang Nguyen. "Theorizing Queer Temporalities: A Roundtable." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 13, no. 2–3 (2007): 177–195.

Duggan, Lisa. *The Twilight of Equality? Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2003.

Estes, Steve. *I AM A MAN!* : *Race, Manhood, and the Civil Rights Movement*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

Ferguson, Russell. "How I Think, Part II: An Interview with Catherine Opie (May 2000)." In *Catherine Opie: American Photographer*, 140–142. New York: Guggenheim Publications, 2008.

Ferguson, Russell. "I Have Represented This Country: An Interview with Catherine Opie (December 4, 2007)." In *Catherine Opie: American Photographer*, 256–264. New York: Guggenheim Publications, 2008.

Fraser, Michael R. "Identity and Representation as Challenges to Social Movement Theory: A Case Study of Queer Nation." In *Mainstream(s) and Margins: Cultural Politics in the 90s*, edited by Michael Morgan and Susan Leggett, 32–44. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996.

Freeman, Elizabeth. "Turn the Beat Around: Sadomasochism, Temporality, History." *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 19, no. 1 (2008): 32–70.

Geyer, Andrea, and Sharon Hayes. *History Is Ours*. Heidelberg: Kehrer Verlag, 2009.

Godfrey, Mark. "The Artist as Historian." *October* 120 (Spring 2007): 140–172.

Gould, Deborah B. *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP's Fight Against AIDS*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

Green, Laurie B. *Battling the Plantation Mentality: Memphis and the Black Freedom Struggle*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

Harcourt, Bernard E. "Political Disobedience." *Critical Inquiry* 39, no. 1 (Autumn 2012): 33–55.

Harsbarger, Rebecca, and Frank Rosario. "Outrage over Caged Wall Street Bull." *New York Post*, December 27, 2011. http://bit.ly/15Fe2sF.

Hayes, Sharon. *After Before – in the Near Future: Art in General New Commissions Program, Vol. 1*. NY: Art in General, 2007.

Hayes, Sharon. "Keynote Lecture, The Creative Time Summit: Revolutions in Public Practice (2009)." In *Coming After: Queer Time, Arriving Too Late, and the Spectre of the Recent Past*, edited by John Davies, 57–70. Toronto: The Power Plant, 2012.

Hayes, Sharon. "Revolutionary Love 1 & 2." In *A Guide to Democracy in America*, edited by Nato Thompson and Anne Pasternak, 60–62. New York: Creative Time, 2008.

Hernández Chong Cuy, Sofía. "Nothing Will Be As Before." In *After Before / in the Near Future*, edited by Sofía Hernández Chong Cuy and Miguel Amado, 35–40. New York: Art in General, 2007.

Honey, Michael K. *Going Down Jericho Road*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007.

Horn, Roni. "My Oz (2006)." In *Vatnasafn / Library of Water*, 167–172. London; Göttingen, Germany: Artangel/Steidl, 2007.

Hurley, F. Jack. "Photographing Struggle, Building Bridges." In *Pictures Tell The Story: Ernest C. Withers, Reflections in History*, 29–105. Norfolk, VA: Chrysler Museum of Art, 2000.

Isin, Engin F. "Theorizing Acts of Citizenship." In *Acts of Citizenship*, edited by Engin F. Isin and Greg M. Nielsen, 15-43. London; New York: Zed Books Ltd., 2008.

Jameson, Frederic. *Postmodernism: Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991.

Jameson, Frederic. "Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture." *Social Text I* (1979): 130–48.

Kanouse, Sarah E. "Tactical Irrelevance: Art and Politics at Play." Paper presented at the Conference of the Union for Democratic Communication, Boca Raton, FL, May 20, 2006. http://www.readysubjects.org/writing/kanouse_artpolitics.pdf.

Leonard, Zoe. "Muscle Memory." In *Coming After: Queer Time, Arriving Too Late, and the Spectre of the Recent Past*, edited by John Davies, 66–71. Toronto: The Power Plant, 2012.

Levine, Bruce. *Get Up, Stand Up: Uniting Populists, Energizing the Defeated, and Battling the Corporate Elite*. White River Junction, VT: Chelsea Green Publishing, 2011.

Marcus, George E. *The Sentimental Citizen: Emotion in Democratic Politics*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.

Martín Alcoff, Linda. "The Problem of Speaking for Others." In *Who Can Speak? Authority and Critical Identity*, edited by Judith Roof and Robyn Wiegman, 97-119. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995.

Mercer, Kobena. “Imagine All the People: Constructing Community Culturally.” In *Imagined Communities*, edited by Richard Hylton, 12–17. London: Hayward Gallery, 1995.

McGirr, Lisa. *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.

McKee, Yates. “Contemporary Art and the Legacies of Democracy, 2001–2008.” In *A Guide to Democracy in America,* edited by Nato Thompson and Anne Pasternak, 26–39. New York: Creative Time, 2008.

Mitchell, W. J. T. “Image, Space, Revolution: The Arts of Occupation.” *Critical Inquiry* 39, no. 1 (Autumn 2012): 8–32.

Mitchell, W. J. T. “Occupy: Three Inquiries in Disobedience.” *Critical Inquiry* 39, no. 1 (Autumn 2012): 1–7.

Molesworth, Helen, and Catherine Opie. “Catherine Opie in Conversation with Helen Molesworth.” In *Catherine Opie: Empty and Full*, 80–91. Ostfildern, Germany: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2011.

Mouffe, Chantal. “Citizenship and Political Identity.” *October,* Vol. 61 (Summer 1992): 28-32.

Muñoz, José Esteban. *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity*. New York: NYU Press, 2009.

Nealon, Christopher. *Foundlings: Lesbian and Gay Historical Emotion Before Stonewall*. Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2001.

“Occupy Cinema // Charging Bull // Tuesday, December 6,” Vimeo video, 1:13. Posted by “Occupy Cinema,” December 6, 2011. http://vimeo.com/33211022.

Olin, Margaret. “The Winter Garden and Virtual Heaven.” In *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, edited by Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Olin, 133–155. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

"One Question: Sharon Hayes." Vimeo video, 4:51, discussion with Hayes about *In the Near Future* on the occasion of her exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum, New York. Posted by "CAG." May 19, 2011. http://vimeo.com/23971715.

Patton, Cindy. "Reconfiguring Social Space." In *Social Postmodernism: Beyond Identity Politics*, edited by Linda Nicholson and Steven Seidman, 216–49. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Rancière, Jacques. *Hatred of Democracy*. Translated by Steve Corcoran. London; New York: Verso, 2006.

Reilly, Maura. "The Drive to Describe: An Interview with Catherine Opie." *Art Journal* 60, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 82–95.

Sharlet, Jeff. "By the Mob's Early Light: The Ritual Significance of Occupy Wall Street." *Bookforum* 18, no. 4 (January 2012): 7–8.

"Sharon Hayes Presentation." YouTube video, 20:04, keynote address for the 2009 Creative Time Symposium. Posted by "creativetimenewyork." November 18, 2009. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N1hfHOWQu0M.

Squibb, Stephen. "Scenes from Occupy Boston." In *Occupy! Scenes from Occupied America*, edited by Astra Taylor and Keith Gessen, 170–175. Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2011.

Steedman, Carolyn Kay. *Landscape for a Good Woman*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991.

Stockton, Kathryn Bond. *The Queer Child, or Growing Sideways in the Twentieth Century*. Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2009.

Taussig, Michael. "I'm so Angry I Made a Sign." *Critical Inquiry* 39, no. 1 (Autumn 2012): 56–88.

Thompson, Nato. "Exhausted? It Might Be Democracy in America." In *A Guide to Democracy in America*, edited by Nato Thompson and Anne Pasternak, 14–25. New York: Creative Time, 2008.

Walker, Brian. "Social Movements as Nationalisms or, On the Very Idea of a Queer Nation." In *Rethinking Nationalism*, edited by Jocelyne Couture, Kai Nielsen, and Michael Seymour, 505–547. Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press, 1998.

Wallis, Brian. "Democracy and Cultural Activism." In *Democracy: A Project by Group Material,* edited by Brian Wallis, 4-11. Seattle: Bay Press, 1990.

Wallis, Brian, ed. *Democracy: A Project by Group Material*. Seattle: Bay Press, 1990.

Warner, Michael. *Publics and Counterpublics*. Brooklyn, NY: Zone Books, 2002.

Wiegmink, Pia. *Protest EnACTed: Activist Performance in the Contemporary United States*. Germany: Universitästverlag Winter, 2011.

Zernike, Kate. "Poll Shows Negative View of Tea Party on the Rise." *The New York Times*, August 5, 2011. http://www.nytimes.com/2011/08/05/us/politics/05teaparty.html.

Žižek, Slavoj. "Too Much Democracy?" (paper presented at Columbia University, March 14, 2003). http://www.lacan.com/toomuch.htm.